

Words for Women's Work

A contrastive study of words in Japanese and English for tasks
associated with women working within the home

Sissel Kværne Vestre

**A Thesis Presented to
The Department of Cultural Studies and Oriental Languages
The University of Oslo
In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Cand. Philol. Degree**

Spring Term 2007

Abstract

This study is about the words used for women's work within the home, in Japanese and English. The aim is to see whether there is something in the language used which undermines respect for the women who perform the tasks and whether this is specific to either language.

The study investigates key terms like 働く *hataraku* and 仕事 *shigoto* for *work*; 家事 *kaji* for *housework*; 料理 *ryôri*, 掃除 *sôji* and 洗濯 *sentaku* for *cooking*, *cleaning* and *laundry*; and a number of terms for care: 育児 *ikuji* and 子供の世話 *kodomo no sewa* for *childcare*; 介護 *kaigo*, 看護 *kango* and ケア *kea* for *care* for elderly and disabled. Words for women who work at home are also included, as Japanese 主婦 *shufu* is compared to a Western *housewife* or a *stay-at-home-mom*.

Analysing the semantic features of the terms reveal a considerable gap between *work* and *housework* as far as positive implications are concerned. Japanese, however, seem to have lesser expectations to *hataraku* and more respect for *kaji*, and the gap therefore is less pronounced. Implications of word class and syntax indicate that the point of view is important for the choice of terms in Japanese. Words for care in particular have a number of terms witnessing a need for expressing these activities at different points in time. Finally, several feminist scholars express the difference between a Japanese homemaker and a Western housewife. Japanese women are traditionally not regarded as a weaker sex, but seen to be in charge of family and social relations, education of the children and the welfare of elderly family members.

To conclude, with the exception of the encompassing term *kaji*, Japanese seems to contain a variety of terms adapted to a task and activities where monetary value is not the primary point of interest.

Preface

The importance of language can hardly be overestimated. In a modern society countless decisions depend on agreement or disagreement, on argument and discussion. We rely on people's ability to understand one another, and our political systems of representation depend on the duty of those in power to listen to people in need. Freedom of speech is the right of people to be heard. But in our trivial, daily pursuits, too, we depend on communication. As a mother of six I have seen the wonder of language acquisition develop and blossom in six separate patterns. Only recently have I had the opportunity to experience language at another stage of life: nearing a century of language use our family's oldest member has lost all touch with surrounding reality, but can still converse in two languages and cite poems and proverbs learnt at school eighty years ago. While the present is altogether absent in her mind, her language is still fluent, sensible and normal.

Ten years ago I focused on vocabulary acquisition for Norwegian learners of English. The sensitivity to lexicological features has stayed with me, and I have noticed how manipulative language use can be. An example: our minister of education in 1997, Gudmund Hernes, personally led the formulation of a new curriculum for schools. Pressed to include the role of parents, he succumbed to half a page of details about their importance. All sentences with the word *parent* in subject position were, however, passive constructions. Parents were, in terms of syntax, patients or beneficiaries. He would in no way allow parents to be empowered by an agent role in a sentence.

In a different field, I have wondered at how little reverence is shown hard-working, care-giving women in society, when everyone knows their work, though often unpaid, is indispensable. During a conference about health care some years ago, the question "Can childcare be called work, if the children are your own?" came up. Many replied negatively to this, but could not explain why, until one professional child nurse burst out: "It has to do with feelings. You love your children, so it can't be work." Interesting! Had she just defined a semantic element of the word *work*? Many seemed to agree with her. Does time spent caring for your children, for sick or elderly, disqualify as work because you are expected to love the recipients of your efforts, so there is a contradiction in terms? That is what I have set out to do in this thesis, a comparative study of Japanese and English words for activities often associated with women and women's tasks in the home. I myself love what I am doing, so it may not qualify for work, but I hope at least it may contribute to increased insight.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank my supervisor Professor Bjarke Frellesvig for encouragement when I needed it most, and valuable suggestions and advice up to the very last minute.

Thanks are due to my friend Shinobu Takeda for showing me how hard Japanese women work to combine the traditional duties of home with the challenges of modern society and labour market. I am grateful also to many sharing and caring Japanese friends who have helped me to see beyond the words, to efforts and accomplishments of women in Japan.

Contents

Abstract	ii
Preface	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Contents	v
1. Introduction	1
1.1 Remarks on language use	1
1.2 Methods	3
1.3 Dictionaries	3
1.4 Time use surveys	6
1.5 Other text and sources	6
2. Words for women's work	9
2.1 Women's work	9
2.2 Shinobu's list	11
2.3 Time use surveys	14
2.4 International comparisons	18
2.5 Key terms for women's work	20
3. The impact of <i>work</i> – what's in a word?	22
3.1 How words work	22
3.2 Semantic Features of <i>work</i> 働く <i>hataraku</i> and 仕事 <i>shigoto</i>	23
3.3 Word class, new words and borrowings	27
3.4 Syntax and structural implicature	28
3.5 Collocations and context	30
4. Words for housekeeping	31
4.1 Categories for housekeeping	31
4.2 Housekeeping and housework, 家事 <i>kaji</i>	32
4.3 Cooking: 料理 <i>ryôri</i> 、炊事 <i>suiji</i>	39
4.4 Cleaning: 掃除 <i>sôji</i>	44
4.5 Laundry: 洗濯 <i>sentaku</i>	46

5. Words for care.....	50
5.1 <i>Care</i>	50
5.2 育児 <i>ikuji</i> 子供の世話 <i>kodomo no sewa</i> 子育て <i>kosodate</i>	53
5.3 <i>Nursing</i>	56
5.4 看護 <i>kango</i> 介護 <i>kaigo</i> ケア <i>kea</i>	57
5.5 Help and assist, 助ける <i>tasukeru</i> and 手伝う <i>tetsudau</i>	59
5.6 Teach 教える <i>oshieru</i>	62
6. Words for women who work at home	65
6.1 Norwegian <i>husmor</i>	65
6.2 English <i>housewife</i>	66
6.3 Japanese 主婦 <i>shufu</i>	68
6.4 良妻賢母 <i>ryôsaikenbo</i> good wife wise mother	70
7. Towards a conclusion.....	74
7.1 Do women work?	74
7.2 Watching women work.....	77
7.3 Women care.....	80
7.4 Maids or managers	81
7.5 Visible work	83
References	85
Appendix	89

1 Introduction

1.1 Remarks on language use

Why do we often feel that carefully designed strategies for a common good are being sabotaged by an indefinable force within the system, in spite of full agreement by those who operate the system? Over the years I have been intrigued by how many words have been put to the task of empowering women in our society, and how many of these words seem to have been uttered in vain. Who knows if equally good results could not have been achieved without them? I am setting out on a mission to examine whether there might be something in the language used in this field that betrays the intentions. Now, to break down and analyze utterances and words in one language may be interesting and revealing to the society concerned. But if the same processes are found in different languages and societies, the findings will be of much greater interest, as they may point to universal principles.

Based on this, I take my observations in Norwegian and English language and society and turn to Japanese. I wish to analyse expressions and mechanisms in the field of “women and work” in Japanese, and see whether similar observations can be made in a totally different language, with a history isolated from our Western languages.

My observation is simple. Western society has for decades been dedicated to promoting equal rights for women, preaching basic egalitarian values, legislating to benefit women in positions of power and instituting facilities to relieve women of child care. In spite of this, in the real world, the income gap between the genders is increasing, women are reluctant to seize power, and officially stated goals are not being achieved.

Since I have often been in a position to scrutinize language, I started to notice how choice of words could pressure women to be silent about their values, or how the syntax of sentences implied attitudes that required certain responses. A closer look at text referred to in the preface will illustrate this. In 1994 the Royal Ministry of Church, Education and Research edited a new *Core Curriculum Primary, Secondary and Adult Education in Norway*.¹ In this book, which in fact is legally binding for education, parents are shown some respect by being

¹ This English edition, a translation of an introductory chapter to new curriculum guidelines, appeared two years prior to the completion of *Læreplanverket for den 10-årige grunnskole in 1996*. The quotations are from page 34.

given certain rights. Here are some typical citations: “..more active mobilization of the parents is needed to strengthen...” ; “...parents must also know both each other and each other’s children.”; “ The school must engage the parents in developing..” (Core curriculum, 1994 p.34) The sentences reveal that parents are patients or experiencers; to be mobilized, engaged, to know. The actors mobilizing and engaging them, is the school board, the teacher or other authorities. They have knowledge, information and, by implication, the power to make parents understand.

So far one might see this as a power struggle between the home and school. But when one is aware that most children are backed up by their mothers to a much wider extent than by their fathers, the true implications surface: the mother must “know, be mobilized, be engaged...” This paragraph then reveals a condescending attitude if read by a mother striving to live up to expectations. So although there is nothing wrong with providing information for parents, the message that comes across is tainted by consistently giving the parent, *de facto* the mother, a role as beneficiary or patient in phrases where the actor is the knowledgeable and powerful school authority. By employing a certain sentence structure, women are manipulated into a position where they were quite powerless. By choosing the word *parent* all accusations of gender bias can be repudiated.

In a 1997 study of vocabulary acquisition and Norwegian learners of English, (Vestre, 1998) I noted how important the context and collocation of lexical items were for the learners’ ability to put a term to use. A textbook presentation of vocabulary items made little impression if it did not conform to usage outside of school, like television or internet. This means that learners rely on the typical meaning and usage of a new term, and, as their expectations are formed by the contexts where they repeatedly encounter the term, it is not easy to escape from these expectations. Connotations carried over from established contexts and common collocations are obviously an important part of analyzing language implication. Try this: Insert the missing pronoun: “The nurse hurried down the corridor, but as ---reached the door..” Did you write *he* or *she*? Most nurses are women, and so there is nothing wrong with suggesting a *she* here. It only goes to demonstrate that we have expectations about words based on our experience, and this experience is a very real part of the communicative process.

1.2 Methods

In analysing the words and expressions in this study, I will approach the object from different angles. Semantic analysis is a breakdown with the intention of coming to the bottom of the meaning of the words, finding features that influence our understanding. Syntactic properties pertaining to the word, and especially the part-of-speech categories can be of importance. Collocation and context add insight into the implicative and usage of the expression. And finally the choice of words reflects style, political intentions, simplicity, identity – in a complex combination of tradition and preference. The linguistic theory employed in the various analyses will be presented as the study proceeds and in the context which is most relevant, in connection with terms or verbs where the theory is particularly useful. For instance, Levin’s classification of English verbs will receive most attention when *cooking*-verbs are presented in chapter 4, while word formation and borrowings receive more attention in chapter 5, with 子供の世話 *kodomo no sewa* and 育児 *ikuji*, “childcare” and ケア *kea*, “care”.

1.3 Dictionaries

Dictionaries provide a limited but often concise collection of definitions and examples of terms in use. In the case of bilingual dictionaries, terms from two languages are juxtaposed. Since I am interested in semantic features, definitions, examples and translations, it is natural that I make dictionaries a main source of information. Before the age of computers, this may have been a rather lopsided or inaccurate source, as the information would have been sieved through the evaluative mind of a lexicologist. But now dictionaries are often based on a large corpus of texts, and examples are chosen according to frequency with semantic and pragmatic points listed. Dictionaries quoted in this paper are listed under References, but I will list the most important ones here with their acronyms, together with some comments on their usefulness. When definitions and examples are picked from dictionaries, I have found it difficult to quote the whole entry, since dictionaries are so different in their annotation and it would be too complicated to explain all conventions of abbreviation for grammar etc. I have therefore marked the head word, or entry word, in bold, followed by spelling in Latin letters and translation where this is necessary for readers not familiar with Japanese. These additions are in square brackets when they are made by me. Likewise, when transcriptions, translations or details are added by me, they will always be in square brackets. To illustrate this, here is the background for my example (17). I was looking for an example sentence to show how the

English collocation “work hard” was stated in Japanese, and I was trying out the entry word *isshôkenmei* in the JapanKnowledge base. I found:

いっしょ(う)けんめい 【一生懸命・一所懸命】

一生懸命勉強した I studied **as hard as I could**.

一生懸命に逃げた I ran **for my [dear] life**.

一生懸命に仕事をしている He is working **for all he's worth**. / He is **putting his all into** his work.

一生懸命やります [やってみます] I will **do [try] my best**.

とびらを一生懸命押した I pushed on the door **with all my might**.

彼女は姑を喜ばせようと一生懸命だった She **did her best** to please her mother-in-law.

プログレッシブ和英中辞典

I picked the third example, made sure the head word was in **Bold**, added transcription in square brackets, and numbered the example:

(17) 一生懸命に仕事をしている [isshôkenmei ni shigoto o shite iru] He is working **for all he's worth**. / He is **putting his all into** his work.

プログレッシブ/JK

So although definitions and examples are cited correctly, the entry as a whole is not to be regarded as a quote. All the dictionary examples introduced by a number in brackets are treated this way. A complete list of dictionaries is found on page 88.

1.3.1 English dictionaries.

CIDE Cambridge International Dictionary of English (1995) has “Guides you to the meaning” as a slogan on the cover. This dictionary is very clear about the different senses of an item. This makes it particularly useful for distinguishing prominent semantic features. Some examples are taken from an on-line edition, Cambridge 英英辞典, by way of JapanKnowledge base.²

CoB Collins Cobuild English Dictionary (1995) boasts “real English examples”. This claim can be made because examples are drawn from a large corpus of texts, The Bank of English, some 200 million words. Meanings are exemplified by sentences from the corpus, and the

² <http://www.japanknowledge.com/>

typical usage becomes very clear. This is useful for example sentences. Some examples are taken from an on-line edition, Cobuild 英英辞典, by way of JapanKnowledge base.

LLA Longman's Language Activator (1993) "The world's first production dictionary" is a unique tool for probing the meaning of words, finding key concepts and alternative formulations. It is particularly useful in analysing nuances and implications in meaning. It is also unique in the way it attempts to organise according to meaning phrasal expressions that are common in spoken English. The key concepts from LLA will be quoted in small capitals, like WORK, as will semantic features.

1.3.2 Bilingual dictionaries, English-Japanese and Japanese-English

KKJE Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary (1974 edition)

KKEJ Kenkyusha New English-Japanese Dictionary (1960 edition)

For decades these dictionaries have been the chief tools of Japanese-English bilingual studies. Towards the end of the 20th century examples seemed somewhat stiff and sometimes farfetched. The new Japanese-English 2004 edition employs *kana* where the old edition used Latin script, signalling that the primary users are Japanese, and that the non-native Japanese language users should be expected to work according to the Japanese syllabary.

EDICT online electronic dictionary has for more than a decade been a wonderful tool for on-line help in reading, as it has been accessible through various programmes. Jim Breem is the main engineer of the project, which has its archives under Monash University:

http://www.csse.monash.edu.au/~jwb/j_edict.html

Through access to Japan Knowledge Base more examples have been collected via the internet: ランダムハウス英和大辞典 Randomhouse Daijiten, and プログレッシブ英和中辞典 Puroguresshibu Chuujiten are two that I found helpful, but more are found on page 88.

1.3.4 Japanese dictionaries:

NKDJ 日本国語大辞典 第二版 Nippon Kokugo Daijiten (Dainihan, 2001) this is the equivalent of the Oxford English dictionary, giving numerous examples of use from the earliest written sources or whenever a term came to be used.

KJE 広辞苑 第二版 岩波書店 Kôjien from Iwanami Publishing company is available in as an electronic pocket translator format, in my case a Casio xd-s6000.

JapanKnowledge base offers access to several Japanese dictionaries, as the list on page 88 shows.

1.4 Time use surveys

Many texts give relevant information on the roles and work of women. But if the point is to compare activities across cultures, countries and languages, it is a great advantage to have access to texts that are unified in their purpose and terminology. United Nations Statistics Division has invited countries to report their Activities Classifications for Time-Use Surveys. With a single click on the computer one can compare the ways e.g. Japan³, Australia⁴ and Finland⁵ report their classification of activities. Since Japan is determined to adhere to joint standards for time use surveys, I will be primarily concerned for the terms found in these connections. (Mikami, 1999) Now the UNSD is making an effort at international categorization that will enable tracing and comparing the scope of women's activities in various societies. Obviously the extent to which my own suggestions coincide with this initiative for an international appraisal will influence the choice of terms selected for this study.

The way researchers try to trace the activities of different groups of people, gives valuable information. In addition, it is possible to compare languages used to describe this. Statistics for Japan will be major sources of information in chapter 3.

1.5 Other text and sources

Other texts of interest are found on the internet. Examples and information that one finds when searching the net for specific terms or questions, are based on a computerised randomness which does not render the examples invalid. After all, these examples are the result of powerful search engines examining billions of contexts. Also, there is a tendency for

³ <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/sconcerns/tuse/Country/Japan/sourcejpn96.pdf>

⁴ <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/sconcerns/tuse/Country/Australia/CLaus97.pdf>

⁵ <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/sconcerns/tuse/Country/Finland/CLFin00.pdf>

Universities and research centers to publish not only course curricula and seminar agenda on the internet, but also papers and presentations. This gives access to a wide range of information and academic reflection. My use of internet has been for the purpose of finding examples, but I have also found useful articles, like Masahito Fukami “Monetary valuation of unpaid work in 1996” (Fukami, 1999)

Mixing genres may pose a problem when one seeks to exemplify usage in a range of different texts. It is one of the advantages of dictionaries that they give examples of different styles, and often tag items with information about this. But dictionaries are not always unbiased. They depend on their sources and are designed to meet the needs of specific groups of users, like learners of English. In this study I draw on a wide range of texts and genres. An initial attempt at always balancing examples from English and Japanese from equivalent genres and contexts was soon discarded, except for the language of time use surveys. In other fields, when cultural heritage is significantly different, there will always be so many variables in the context of an utterance that genre alone does not disqualify the comparing of usage across languages.

Before approaching statistical investigations, I will, however, offer certain observations and experiences of my own. For almost 20 years I was an active member of a Norwegian women’s association, (Norges Husmorforbund). I was especially involved in two fields of their activities. One concerned social and political strategies, built on reports of social studies⁶ and the other was international projects, i.e. working for solidarity with women in developing countries. It is interesting to note that the focus on unpaid work, demanding respect and rights for the women who performed it, which was considered politically incorrect in Norway in the 70s and 80s, has become an important issue today, especially when there is focus on the work of women in non-western countries. Several papers presented at a seminar in India, “International Seminar on Time Use Studies”, arranged 7-10 December 1999 by Centre for Development Alternatives, India, will be quoted in this paper. In Norway, too, a research project at the University of Oslo, called *Husarbeidet i 100 år* (“A century of household work”) has been launched. It is an interdisciplinary research project on the changes in the status of housework from the housewife society of the 20 th century to our contemporary society of gender equality politics.⁷

⁶ *Barnemeldingen*, 1989 published by Norges Husmorforbund

⁷ <http://www.hf.uio.no/forskningsprosjekter/fosam/english/about/housework.html>

Limiting the text sources to dictionaries and socio-economic reports would obviously create a very narrow perspective on the work of women. Some of the richest and interesting, most engaging literature relevant to women's work, is produced by feminist writers. When feminist and linguist Robin Lakoff in 1976 published an article, or book, called *Language and Woman's Place*, it invited women scholars to focus on their language use and on the link between language and power. Today, much of this reflection is available to us, as material published on the subject is abundant.

As much of what is written about women at work in the home focuses more on their situation and experience than on the work they do, it seems unavoidable that this paper also must treat some of the terms used for these women. Terms that during the last decades may have received derogatory interpretations, as they display a passive and/or traditional roles for women, are the Norwegian word *hjemmeværende husmor* corresponding to the American *stay-at-home mom* which seems to carry many of the same implications. In Japanese 良妻賢母 *ryōsaikenbo* “wise mother good wife” has a very different history, but evokes many of the same associations, and 主婦 *shufu*, housewife, may also be a case in point. These terms will be included in the study.

2 Words for women's work

Before going any further it is necessary to be specific about what can be implied by the term “women's work”. Several points of view can be taken as a starting point:

- Reference to socio-political texts that comment or cite statistics
- Reference to literature that cites common beliefs or opinions
- Dictionary examples etc based on frequent language patterns and definitions
- Questionnaires or other quantitative investigations to acquire statistical basis for selection of words
- In-depth description – to some extent intuitive and subjective – of how individuals may experience the tasks in question.

In the following I will first give a description of my own understanding of the field. I will then explain why I renounced an attempt at gathering quotes and replies through questionnaires, and settled for two main sources: statistics and expressions from time use surveys on the one hand, and examples and definitions from dictionaries on the other.

2.1 Women's work

I will start by presenting my own semantic grid for tasks that I at the outset might want to include. I will then discuss the relevance and suitability of terms for further investigation. Table 1 has been set up to cover tasks and activities as I see them, in my own life and in society that I have observed in Norway, USA and Japan. But in real life activities do not fall into neat categories, and there may well be better ways of approaching the matter. Obviously the list is not exhaustive.

Initially I was eager to compare my own observations with those of others with a different language background. I thought it a good idea to distribute a questionnaire to a limited number of Japanese housewives with knowledge of both Japanese and English, and see which terms they preferred for their activities. This could constitute a basis for a choice of words and expressions, at the same time providing examples of the words in linguistic context. The following lists demonstrate why I gave this up.

Table 1 Semantic grid for home-based activities typically performed by women

	caring for infants, sick and elderly	educating children and young	housekeeping, running a family, a home	production, services food, clothes handicrafts	family and community responsibilities art, global solidarity, religious duties
physical, bodily needs	feeding hygiene diapers, washing dressing medication	teaching, training, speech empathy chores knowledge bonding sharing	cooking cleaning washing	gardening farming sewing washing	substitute carer taking in dependants
practical	transportation, accompanying, arranging, meetings	transportation support work	shopping organizing	organizing lodgers	
social needs					networking church oo
mental, psychology needs	a sense of belonging, spending time with, watching over				worship
roles	nurse mother father parent	teacher kindergarten- teacher	maid, cleaner, washing machine, cook/chef janitor	farmer, gardener, cook, weaver seamstress	people employed in public services

2.2 Shinobu's list

In order to try out some ideas I wrote to my friend in Tokyo, Shinobu, for assistance. I asked her to compile a list of activities that she did at home where she runs a household with an average of three people (she has three sons, but two are away at school). For comparison, I asked her to list other activities, connected to her other workplace, a school of Japanese for foreigners, where she teaches part-time.

Shinobu's complete list is found in Appendix 1. It falls into two parts, one with the heading *kitchen – daidokoro* for home-based activities, and one with the heading *work-place – shokuba* for job-related terms. It runs as follows: (46 items)

Table 2 a Shinobu's list, part one: 台所 *daidokoro* (kitchen)

洗う	<i>arau</i>	wash
焼く	<i>yaku</i>	bake, roast, burn
茹でる	<i>yuderu</i>	boil
煮る	<i>niru</i>	boil, simmer
暖める	<i>atatameru</i>	warm, heat
沸かす	<i>wakasu</i>	boil
冷やす	<i>hiyasu</i>	cool, ice
冷凍する	<i>reitôsuru</i>	freeze, refrigerate
炙る	<i>aburu</i>	broil
入れる	<i>ireru</i>	put in
付ける	<i>tsukeru</i>	apply, use, put on
塗る	<i>nuru</i>	spread butter on
解凍する	<i>kaitôsuru</i>	thaw (defrost)
漬ける	<i>tsukeru</i>	soak, pickle
流す	<i>nagasu</i>	flush down the drain
磨く	<i>migaku</i>	polish, rub up
点ける	<i>tsukeru</i>	turn on, light
揚げる	<i>ageru</i>	fly
蒸す	<i>musu</i>	steam
混ぜる	<i>mazeru</i>	mix, stir
練る	<i>neru</i>	knead
篩う	<i>furuu</i>	sift, sieve
量る	<i>hakaru</i>	measure
盛り付ける	<i>moritsukeru</i>	dish up, dish out
磨く	<i>migaku</i>	polish

拭く	<i>haku</i>	wipe, mop
掃く	<i>haku</i>	sweep
片付ける	<i>katazukeru</i>	tidy
しまう	<i>shimau</i>	put away, put back
洗濯する	<i>sentakusuru</i>	wash
干す	<i>hosu</i>	dry
乾かす	<i>kawakasu</i>	dry
取り入れる	<i>toriireru</i>	take in the washing
たたむ	<i>tatamu</i>	fold
置く	<i>oku</i>	put, place
回す	<i>mawasu</i>	turn
並べる	<i>naraberu</i>	line up, set dishes
掃除する	<i>sôjisuru</i>	clean
買い物する	<i>kaimonosuru</i>	do shopping
増やす	<i>fuyasu</i>	increase
重ねる	<i>kasaneru</i>	pile up, put on
切る	<i>kiru</i>	cut
開ける	<i>akeru</i>	open
見つける	<i>mitsukeru</i>	find
読む	<i>yomu</i>	read
書く	<i>kaku</i>	write

The list of terms relevant to the paid workplace is twice as long, and starts as follows:

Table 2 b Shinobu's list, part two: 職場 *shokuba*, workplace (first 11 items of 69)

コンピューターを使う		use computer
働く	<i>hataraku</i>	work
仕事する	<i>shigoto</i>	work
話す	<i>hanasu</i>	speak
教える	<i>oshieru</i>	teach
送る	<i>okuru</i>	send
見せる	<i>miseru</i>	show
呼ぶ	<i>yobu</i>	call
伝える	<i>tsutaeru</i>	tell, convey
引き受ける	<i>hikiukeru</i>	undertake
企画する	<i>kikakusuru</i>	plan

After spending some time with this list of terms, I saw how difficult it would be to form a questionnaire which was open and unbiased, at the same time as reportees yielded terms and

views that were possible within the scope of this project. Never the less, the listing is interesting in several ways. It says a lot about one middle-aged housewife; about her consciousness of what she does, at home and at work, and it gives her inventory of the everyday tasks of running a home. I noted for instance:

- *Daidokoro* is the name for her workplace at home, but she includes many activities outside of the kitchen - even shopping
- Both 働く *hataraku* (work) and 仕事する *shigoto* (work) appear near the top of her list at her paid work place
- The mother of three is interestingly very conscious about speaking, telling, showing and planning when it comes to workplace, but she does not mention them at home

Comparing Shinobu's list with my own grid, I first wondered how it was possible that we totally avoided using the same terms. It then struck me that my friend was being very practical and conscientious when it came to reporting the visible, result-oriented activities that occur within the field of housekeeping, she had been modest and hesitant when it came to less easily identified activities of running the home and raising her children, now teenagers. Since I left it to her to choose the level of specificness, I could not blame her for being specific about the simmering, boiling, broiling and baking involved in preparing meals, when I myself was satisfied with *cooking*. As a matter of fact it was a useful reminder that most of what we do can be described at varying levels of concreteness and detail. The implications of the actions of these levels are part of what this study is about.

So Shinobu's home arena is the kitchen, and she sees the main tasks as that which we can group into terms for the core tasks of *cooking*, *cleaning*, and *laundry*. Which terms are left? A short list of six items: shopping, put, pile up, increase, read and write. Out of the kitchen, but still at home, Shinobu is not sure that what she was doing is relevant. So she turns to her job-place, 職場 *shokuba*. Here she is no longer hesitant, starting her work with, コンピューターを使う *konpyuuta o tsukau* "use computer." This first term is interesting, since Shinobu does have a computer at home. She uses this to keep in touch with family she is away from, her sons about whom she is very concerned, to gain information as a consumer, and to order things for the house. Yet she does not list the activity at home, only at her job. Setting up the list of everything she does at work, her list is much longer than the housework list. Some

terms seem to relate to her specific job as a teacher. But the majority of terms seem relevant to most situations where you work with people:

Table 2 c Shinobu's list, more verbs from the work place

強調する	<i>kyôchô suru</i>	emphasize
否定する	<i>hiteisuru</i>	deny
見合わせる		
る	<i>miawaseru</i>	give up, abandon
説得する	<i>settoku suru</i>	persuade
契約する	<i>keiyaku suru</i>	contract
改善する	<i>kaizen suru</i>	improve
協力する	<i>kyôryoku suru</i>	cooperate
拡大する	<i>kakudai suru</i>	expand
勧める	<i>susumeru</i>	recommend

A comparative study of what activities are worthy of mention in a summary of homemaking tasks, and what activities have value only if they take place during office hours, may be interesting enough. But it is not what I set out to do here. As I want to find out if there is anything remarkable about terms used for women's work, words like *read*, *write*, *deny*, *persuade*, *improve* are of little value. They are obviously such general and frequent words that we cannot link them to specific groups of users, genderwise or otherwise. So although many of these tasks and activities represent important areas of women's work, with or without pay, I must look for criteria to narrow the field, or the list will be very long and encompassing, and a number of terms so high that treatment must necessarily be superficial. In the onset I envisaged two basic criteria:

- Terms that either consciously or subconsciously are associated with female actors or roles
- Terms that are relevant for many, maybe a majority, of women, as they represent tasks that they spend a lot of time and energy performing

Looking for dry, unbiased descriptions, careful definitions and rigid criteria, -what better place to turn that to Bureaus of Statistics, Japan, and their presentations of time use surveys.

2.3 Time use surveys

From the vast resources of statistical materials and commentaries I will refer to the following:

- From the official web site of the Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications in Japan, I found links to pages with relevant terminology.

- From the UN Statistics Division (UNSD) I found links to a highly relevant conference with two Japanese speakers, Hitoshi Mikami and Masahito Fukami.
- In addition I will cite comments to Time use surveys from Norway, South Korea and the USA.

The Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications in Japan, has placed its statistics on housework under the chapter for “culture”, section for “leisure activities.” The summary of results is found in both English and Japanese, and is a good starting point for a search for terms. The summary is found in Appendix 2. One figure will suffice here to demonstrate the terms used. They show time use for husband (夫 *otto*) and wife (妻 *suma*) in a household with at least one child under the age of six. The three slim columns represent time use on weekdays (left), Saturdays (center) and Sundays (right). The eight main columns, from left to right, use the following English translations:

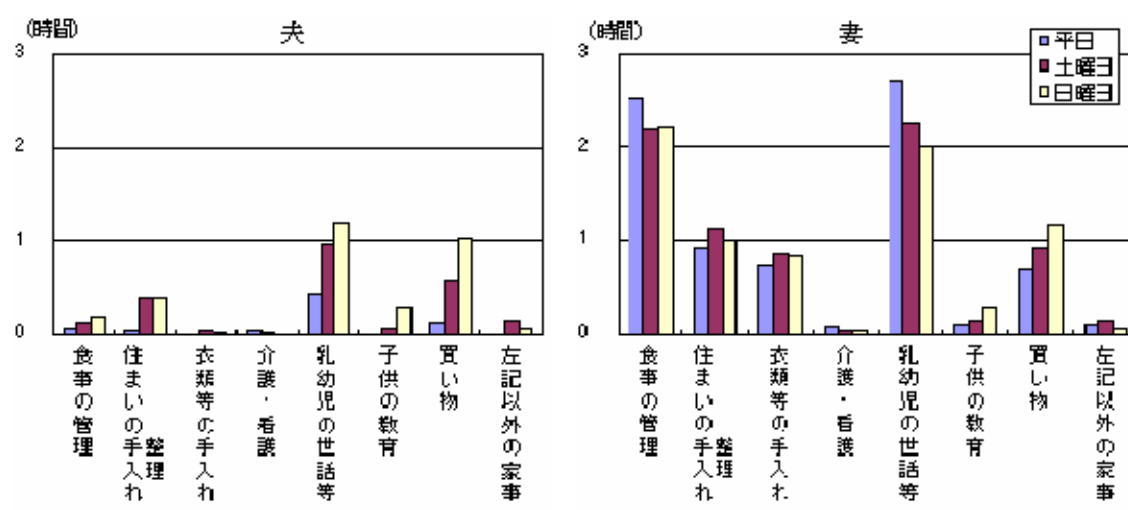


Fig. 1 Time use for couples with child/children⁸

食事の管理 Management of meals

住まいの手入れ・整理する Household upkeep

衣類等の手入れ Care of clothing

⁸ <http://www.unescap.org/stat/meet/timeuse/timeuse.asp>
<http://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/shakai/2001/shousai/yoyaku.htm#1>

介護・看護	Caring
乳幼児の世話等	Taking care of a baby and a little child etc.
子供の教育	Teaching the child
買い物	Shopping
左記以外の家事	Housework other than those listed on the left

The categories and terms look a little different in a shorter summary ⁹ as seen here. This excerpt demonstrates the very rough division of household work into four, as seen under the headings 7, 8, 8 and 10 on the table below.

なお、仕事・家事時間は、仕事関連時間（仕事、通勤・通学の合計時間）と家事関連時間（家事、介護・看護、育児、買い物の合計時間）を合計したものです。[time for work and housework here is the sum of work time (work and commuting to and from work and study) and sum of time used for things related to housework (housework; care for elderly and sick; childcare; shopping)](my translation)

UNSD has invited countries to contribute by reporting “Activities Classifications for Time-Use Surveys”. We find a useful presentation by Hitoshi Mikami, Statistics Bureau and Statistics Center, Management and Coordination Agency, titled “Time use survey in Japan”(1999) Mikami admits that categories and pre-set codes make it difficult to identify women’s unpaid work, and concludes:

“The next *Survey on Time Use and Leisure Activities* is to be conducted in October 2001. The Statistics Bureau and the Statistic Center are planning to review the methods and details of the next survey to meet domestic and foreign demands, especially for unpaid work estimation and for international comparisons.”(p.11)

Since Japan is determined to adhere to joint standards for time use surveys, I will include the terms used in his reference list, where the main categories for Japanese unpaid work-in-the-home, mostly carried out by women, are found under the following: 7. Housekeeping, 8. Nursing, 9. Childcare, 10.Shopping, 17. Social activities (Other places called *volunteer work*, which I think is better).

⁹ <http://www.stat.go.jp/data/shakai/2001/topics/tps0211.htm>

Table 3 Reference: Classification of Activities (Mikami, 1999 p.12)

Activities	Examples and/or notes		
1.Sleep	Time from going to bed till getting up	10.Shopping	Purchase of food, clothes, or other goods Including window-shopping
2.Personal care	Washing face, bathing, dressing, hair-dressing, etc.	11.Moving	Moving other than “4 Commuting to and from school or work”
3.Meals	Includes drinking before or after meals. If the main purpose is socializing, included “18 Social life”.	12.Watching TV, listening to radio, reading newspapers or magazines	
4.Commuting to/from school or work	Going to work or school and returning	13.Rest and relaxation	Conversation with family, office colleagues, etc.
5.Work	Work for pay or profit in “5 Work”. Includes helping family business. Rest between work time should be classified according to the activity actually done.	14.Studies and researches	Studies and researches other than “6 Schoolwork” Those as a part of work are included
6.Schoolwork	Studying by students at school, such as high school, college and university. Homework is included.	15.Hobbies and amusements	Seeing a movie or a play, playing or listening to music, caring for pets, gardening, flower arrangement, chess, mahjong, etc.
7.House-keeping	Cooking, table setting, Cleaning house, Caring for family members other than little child, Keeping the family account, visits to the public office on personal or family matters.	16.Sports	Athletic amusements such as baseball, volleyball tennis, etc. Include light exercises and outdoor leisure such as jogging, hiking, etc.
8.Nursing	Helping family or related person to have a meal, take a bath, dress, move indoors, and to do other movement	17.Social activities	Voluntary activities or other social activities to promote social welfare by providing one’s effort, skill and time without pay
9. Child care	Caring for little child(ren) Including activities concerning education of the child(ren)	18.Social life	Seeing friends, taking with neighbours, attending meetings, funerals, wedding, receiving friends at home,etc
20.Other activities	Activities not classified elsewhere	19.Medical examination or treatment	Stay in bed due to illness, seeing a doctor for treatment, etc.

A second presentation of Japanese statistics on unpaid work was presented at the same seminar in India presented by Fukami (1999) “Monetary Valuation of Unpaid Work in 1996”. This is a presentation of Japan’s strategy for evaluating women’s unpaid labour. The value is based on time-use and wages for comparative occupations, and the two top rows of the table are quoted here. The Japanese forms are not included in original, but added since it will be convenient to refer to this table in discussions of the terms. (translated by personal advice)

Table 4 Household tasks and corresponding occupations.

Type of activity	Cooking	Cleaning	Laundry	Sewing and knitting	Miscellaneous family affairs
Corresponding occupation	Student chef	Building cleaning	Laundryman	Sewing machine operator	Janitor
Japanese	見習い minarai	ビル掃除 birusôji	洗濯屋 sentakuya		管理人 kanrinin

Type of activity	Elderly/nursing care	Child care	Shopping	Volunteer work
Corresponding occupation	Nurse assistant	Kindergarten teacher	Janitor	Weighted average for service industries
Japanese	看護師 kangoshi	幼稚園の教師 hoikuen no kyôshi	管理人 kanrinin	平均的 工場労働者 Heikiteki kôjorôdôsha

Since the large scale time use surveys do not break down the category “housework”, the other important survey in Japan, *The NHK “National Time Use Survey”*, may be cited. It breaks down “housework” to include: drying bedding; care of family members; keeping household accounts; affairs related to banks, city office etc.; car care; repair of furniture etc. (Fukami 1999 p.4)

2.4 International comparisons

Expectations with regards to women’s work are obviously not the same in all countries.

American suburban mothers probably spend more time taking their children places in the car than they do cooking for them, while Japanese mothers spend more time watching over their homework. One point where studies and statistics vary a great deal is in the treatment of tasks in a household with children. As we have seen above, child care can be singled out, as 子供の世話 *kodomo no sewa* or 育児 *ikuji*. But this is not always easy. I will cite two cases to show the difficulties one may run into. The first is an article by Tsuya, Bumpass and Choe,

“Gender. Employment and Housework in Japan, South Korea and the United States.” (2000 p.199) They comment:

“Here an explanation of measurements of “housework” is in order because the Korean survey defined and measured housework time differently from the Japanese and U.S. surveys. The Japanese and U.S. surveys asked the amount of time spent per week on each household task traditionally gender-typed as “female”: cleaning house, doing laundry (for the United States, laundry and ironing) cooking, cleaning up after meals, and grocery shopping. [I will skip a footnote on “male” tasks and gender-neutral tasks] On the other hand the Korean survey measured time spent per day on “housework as a whole”, including, in addition to these conventional female tasks, such chores as child care, helping children with homework, activities related to education of children, visiting relatives, and other work needed to run the household.”

I feel sure that the work of Japanese housewives is closer to the Korean lifestyle, where child care was not attempted segregated from housework. But the need to focus on child care is imperative in communities trying to accommodate the needs of mothers in the work force. In Norway it was displayed from a slightly different angle in a survey from the Bureau of Statistics in a report by Ragni Hege Kitterød. “Tid til barna? Tidsbruk og samvær med barn blant mødre med barn i kontantstøttealder”. (Time for the children? Time use and time spent with children aged 12 to 36 months”, my translation) Here is an excerpt which indicates her evaluation of the balance between childcare and housework: (the English translation is mine)

3.4 Housework. Ordinary housework has strong elements of care... Small children need clean clothes and nutritious food and bring about a lot of tidying and cleaning. It is not possible to define which parts of the housework are directly beneficial to children, but it seems reasonable to assume that small children benefit from most of the housework carried out in a household. Time used for housework is therefore included in the analyses.

... We can differentiate between six main types of housework: ordinary housework; active childcare; maintenance; shopping (goods and services); other household chores; and travelling in connection with household demands. Ordinary housework comprises cooking, cleaning, tidying up, laundry and care of clothes and some other tasks. ... childcare includes the time parents have noted in their diary that caring for the child was the main activity.

3.4. Husarbeid Vanlig husarbeid innebærer ofte sterke elementer av omsorg----- . Små barn trenger rene klær og næringsrik mat og medfører mye rydding og rengjøring. Det lar seg ikke gjøre å avgrense hvilke deler av husarbeidet som direkte kommer barna til gode, men det er rimelig å anta at små barn nyter godt av det aller meste av det som utføres av husarbeid i en husholdning. Tid til husarbeid inkluderes derfor som en samlekategori i analysene. ----- . Vi kan skille mellom seks hovedtyper av husholdsarbeid, nemlig vanlig husarbeid, aktivt omsorgsarbeid for barn, vedlikeholdsarbeid, kjøp av varer og tjenester, annet

husholdsarbeid, samt reiser i forbindelse med husholdsarbeid. Som vanlig husarbeid regnes matlaging, rengjøring, rydding, vask og stell av tøy og en del andre aktiviteter. -- omfatter omsorgsarbeid for barn de perioder der foreldre har notert i dagboka at det å ta seg av barn er den viktigste aktiviteten i et gitt tidsintervall. (Kitterød 2003 p.19)

2.5 Key terms for women's work

In the following table information gathered in this chapter is aligned and Japanese key terms placed in the column to the right.

Table 5 Comparable terms and tasks for work within the home

Activities from feature grid Table 1	Time use surveys, categories UNSD and Japan	Occupations and roles, Table 4	Japanese key terms
Words for running a home and family, planning, shopping Words for housekeeping: cooking, cleaning, washing, ironing Words for clothes, sewing, mending, knitting	7. Housekeeping Cooking, table setting, Cleaning house, Caring for family members other than little child Keeping the family account, visits to the public office on personal or family matters.	Student chef Building cleaner Laundryman Sewing machine operator	家事 <i>kaji</i> 料理 <i>ryôri</i> 掃除 <i>sôji</i> 洗濯 <i>sentaku</i>
Words for bringing up children, raising, rearing. Words for organizing, managing, taking responsibility Words for fussing and interfering: caring, parenting, mothering Words for teaching and training	9. Childcare Caring for little child(ren) Including activities concerning education of the child(ren)	Kindergarden teacher	子供の世話 <i>kodomo no sewa</i> 育児 <i>ikuji</i> ケア <i>kea</i>
Words for looking after bedridden elderly or infants: caring, nursing, taking care of, looking after Words for healthcare and hygiene Words for serving food	8. Nursing Helping family or related person to have a meal, take a bath, dress, move indoors, and to do other movement	Nurse assistant	介護 <i>kaigo</i> 看護 <i>kango</i> ケア <i>kea</i>
Words for community service, net working, building and sustaining a community Words for culture, creating and practicing a traditional heritage arts and craft	17. Social activities Voluntary activities or other social activities to promote social welfare by providing one's effort, skill and time without pay	Average for public service Janitor	

These key terms will constitute the focus of the study. However, in the following analysis of terms, the discussion will not be restricted to key terms only.

Some attention has been given to the various sociological and practical aspects of women's work, in the hope that when we turn to linguistic questions and linguistic analysis we will be better equipped to evaluate context and contents. As we shall see, when words come from the mouth of an observer, it is important to know not only what he or she has been looking at, but also what they have been looking for.

3 The impact of *work* - What is in a word?

3.1 How words work

A discussion of how we can analyse a word is necessary. As a test word I will use the term *work*. 仕事 *shigoto* and 働く *hataraku* are the most likely candidates for Japanese counterparts. The impact of this word is essential for all discussion of work in society, be it paid or unpaid, done by men, women or children.

The discussion will first of all concern meaning. A focus on meaning will rely on analysis of semantic features. Next, since meaning is conveyed by the syntax and structure of words and clauses, syntactic and morphological considerations may be valuable. Finally context and pragmatic force may influence our understanding of a concept, and they are therefore an important part of the picture.

The meeting of semantic and syntactic considerations is discussed in a fruitful way by Beth Levin in an article, “Building a Lexicon: The Contribution of Linguistics” (Levin, 1993). She points out that English verbs are organized into classes on the basis of shared components of meaning. The members of these classes have a range of properties in common, “specifically properties concerning the possible expression and interpretation of their arguments as well as the extended meanings that they can manifest.” (p.209) Identifying the class membership of verb means that we will be able to recognize some of the expectations that surround this verb. “...knowing a verb's semantic class membership is crucial to understanding the properties of a given word and to determining its relation to other words.” (p.218) Levin is concerned with how to make use of information from various kinds of dictionaries. She points out that prototypical dictionary definitions consist of two parts, a genus word – the essential part of the meaning shared with hyponyms - and differentiae the part of the meaning which distinguishes it from other senses of the same word. (p.216)

In addition to such a definition, a dictionary entry must have examples of usage, with or without glosses or translations, and metalinguistic information relating to sub-categorization and selectional restrictions. Differences among dictionaries should be exploited to obtain as much information as possible from them. (p.219) This includes dictionaries for language learners and bilingual dictionaries. Since they contain target language equivalents they help to

bring out different senses and nuances of the headword, when this may be used in varying styles and meanings.

Relying mainly on dictionaries as sources for examples in the following can be justified, knowing the careful consideration behind the presentation and choice of example sentences. Today enormous text corpora are available for lexicographers, and examples need not be constructed. Other sources of linguistic knowledge will be cited when we move to syntactic analysis.

3.2 Semantic features of *work*

Semantic feature analysis in English has been facilitated by a couple of very interesting books. The first is the Longman Language activator. LLA is a dictionary compiled of 1052 key words or concepts. The dictionary is designed to help the user find alternative expressions when they have an idea of what they are trying to say, and are looking for the best expression in English. A second important book shedding light on semantic analysis, this time on verbs only, is presented by Beth Levin, *English verb classes and alternations*. (Levin 1993) She organizes verbs into groups according to their pattern of transitivity and arguments, which tends to be the same in verbs of the same semantic category. It seems that these groups are important in learning, as the way of functioning of a model-verb is apt to be copied when the need arises. In some cases the categorization of verbs according to this arrangement can be quite revealing. As will be shown under *care* and *nurse* in chapter 5, some of the most essential tasks women perform are hard to define by semantically loaded verbs. *Nursing* as well as *mothering*, by Levin's categories, can be analyzed as verbs of identity, where the implications are "doing what is expected of a person in that role."

In an effort to map the semantic features of work I listed all examples found in half a dozen dictionaries, highlighting any expression that indicated semantic features. Some of the most typical examples are given below. We are primarily concerned with the meaning as conveyed by the intransitive verb with an animate agent.

Examples	(1) <i>I've been working in the garden all day</i>	(MED)
	(2) <i>She worked as a journalist</i>	(MED)
	(3) <i>She works incredibly hard</i>	(CID)
	(4) <i>He works at the local hospital</i>	(CID)

Definitions (5) **work** 1. People who work have a job, usually one which they are paid to do.
 5. When you work you spend time and effort doing a task that needs to be done or trying to achieve something. CoB (1 and 5 of 9 explanations)

(6) **work** – ACTIVITY an activity such as a job, in which a person uses their body and/or their mind to make or do something, usually for money, or the material used or what is produced. CIDE (1st of 9 definitions)

(7) Work – which meaning?

- do work activities, at home or as part of your job WORK/DO WORK
- work hard WORK HARD
- work, activities, or pieces of work that someone does work that someone does
- something that needs to be done JOB/TASK LLA (4 of 15)

From the LLA examples we find the following semantic features: COMMITMENT, DO, DRUDGE, EFFECT, EFFORT, LABOUR. We can add MOVE, PERFORM, OPERATE, ACT, PRODUCE EFFECTS, STRAIN from other definitions. Important to our discussion is the element of VOLITION, EXERTING ONESELF, MEANINGFUL RESULT, USEFULNESS, OBVIOUS EFFECT, the way it is GOAL OR PURPOSE ORIENTED and WORTH SOMETHING. There also seems to be an element of LAPSE OF TIME before results can be achieved.

It can sometimes be difficult to judge whether a feature has become part of the semantic make-up of a term, or whether it is a habitual connotation, which might pass. Raymond Williams comments on the use of *work* in his book, *Keywords : a vocabulary of culture and society* (1976)

“[work]..our most general word for doing something and for something done, its range of applications has of course been enormous. What is now most interesting is its predominant specialization to paid employment...to take one significant example, an active woman, running a house and bringing up children, is distinguished from a woman who works: that is to say, takes paid employment. The basic sense of the word, to indicate activity and effort or achievement, has thus been modified, though unevenly and incompletely, by a definition of its imposed conditions, such as working for a wage or salary: being hired.”(p.282)

Most bilingual dictionaries will give the Japanese word 働く *hataraku* for the verb *work*, but 仕事する *shigoto suru* will also show up in many of the examples. This may be related to how easy it is to adopt the noun *work* when you are discussing the activity, and the noun 仕事 *shigoto* is then a convenient counterpart. Do these terms cover the same semantic ground as *work*? Since Japanese lexical items are most often written with Chinese characters, *kanji*, that often carry some features of semantic value, it seems sensible to start by looking at the characters involved. A helpful source of information for readers with a limited knowledge of Japanese, *The Complete Guide to Everyday Kanji* by Habein, Y. and Mathias G. (1991) offers short but useful clues. As for *work*, we find the following:

働 [dô, *hataraku*]¹⁰, a Japanese-made combination of 人(person) and the phonetic 動 (move), means "work, labor" (p. 187, Semantic compound kanji as phonetics)¹¹

To get a more complete picture, move is listed:

動 [dô, *ugoku*] combines 力(strength) with the phonetic 重 (weight), perhaps to symbolize exertion of force. It means "move". (p. 187, Semantic compound kanji as phonetics)

Turning to a popular on-line dictionary, EDICT, I note the following English translations for main uses of 働. Looking mainly for semantic features at the moment I am not so concerned about the word class – noun or verb.

(8) 働 [dô] (n) work; labour.

(9) 働き [*hataraki*] (n) work; workings; activity; ability; talent; function; labour; action; operation; movement; motion; conjugation; inflection; achievement;

(10) 働く [*hataraku*] (vi) to work; to labour; to do; to act; to commit; to practice; to work on; to come into play; to be conjugated; to reduce the price;.

(11) 働き手 [*hatarakite*] (n) worker; breadwinner; supporter; able person; able man;

We find here most of the same strong and positive semantic features of *work*. As one can see in (11), somebody who works is obviously contributing to the general good. It does seem to imply slightly more of the physical exertion that sometimes makes us choose *labour* rather

¹⁰ I use square bracket because I have inserted transcription with Latin script, replacing the *kana* transcription.

¹¹ I find that the name of the chapter indicating the category of the *kanji* is informative and cite it after the page number.

than *work*.

The alternative to 働く *hataraku* is 仕事する *shigoto suru*, and if we need the noun for work, it is the most likely word. We can follow the same line of investigation as with *hataraku*. First we look at the *kanji*, Chinese characters, then we look at dictionary definitions, examples and notes.

仕 [shi, ji, tsukaeru] puts 亼 (person) alongside the phonetic 士 (stand by). It means “serve, wait on”. In Japan it has acquired a sense of “do, doing” by phonological association with a form of the verb する [*suru*] (do). 仕事 [*shigoto*] (job)

(Habein, Y. and Mathias G. 1991 p.129, Phonetic compound kanji)

事 [ji, zu, koto] may be essentially ... a hand holding a flag, or the hand may have held several bamboo sticks. The meaning, too, may have been a very similar “government service.” Its common associations now are in the area of “job, task; person in charge; incident, case, fact; serve.” (p. 53, Semantic compound kanji)

NKDJ gives the following definition and information, extracted from an encompassing entry. 5 meanings are listed, the two first are relevant:

(12) 仕事 [*shigoto* (noun)] 仕[comes from the verb *suru*.]

1. すること。 [*suru koto*, things to do] したこと。 [*shita koto*, things done] しなくてならないこと。 [*shinakutenaranai koto*, things that need to be done] しわざ。
shiwasa また、からだを動かして働くこと。 [*mata, karada o ugokashitehataraku*
work by moving your body]

2. それによって生計をたててゆくための職。 [*sore ni yotte seikei o tatete yuku tameno shoku*, activities by which you have a vocation or livelihood] 職業。
[*Shokugyo*, job]

While the KKEJ lists *hataraku* and *shigoto o suru* for the intransitive verb *work*, the KKJE listing of *shigoto* has the verbal use meaning *work* well tucked away, occupying only one line in more than a column of examples of usage:

(13) 仕事をする [*shigoto o suru*] 1work; do one’s work (job, task); go about one’s business; perform a work (task).

The first thing that strikes me in searching for the verb *shigoto o suru* is how few examples one finds. The on-line EDICT has a long list of items, but they are all nouns.

(14) 仕事し[shigoto] (n,adj-no) work; occupation; employment;

(15) 仕事探し[shigotosagashi] (n) job hunting; job searching.job

To sum up, 仕事 *shigoto* seems to overlap the key concepts of work cited in LLA above:

- work, activities, or pieces of work that someone does WORK THAT SOMEONE DOES
- something that needs to be done JOB/TASK (LLA)

The Norwegian word in question is *arbeid*. This covers all senses of the words *work* and 働く *hataraku* but 仕事する *shigoto suru* may have other alternative equivalents: *jobbe*, *utføre oppgaver* etc

3.3 Word classes, new words and borrowings

When people memorize lexical items, part-of-speech is an important feature often remembered more easily than the item itself. This implies that when we recall a lexical item we are ready to employ it in a special function in a phrase or utterance. Although introductions to grammar sometimes oversimplify pos by indicating that nouns typically are objects, verbs actions and adjectives qualities, which may be useful in a first look at a foreign language, there is much that indicates that we see the tags nouns and verbs in our own language as an indication of how the phrase can be organised around them. Cognitive linguists generally agree on four main parts of speech (Pinker, 2000). The two largest seem universal: nouns and verbs, but the two others, important in English, adjectives and prepositions, are not necessarily so clear cut in other languages. In Japanese the category adjective is problematic, and grammarians do not agree on a suitable terminology. Japanese adjectives are often divided into two classes: inflectional adjectives and na-adjectives, in Japanese traditionally called *keiyôshi* and *keiyôdôshi*.

Other types of word classes are closed classes, not lexical but functional, and often subject to varying descriptions. Of particular interest to analyses in this paper is the use of auxiliary verbs or verb endings, and the way nouns or compounds may be turned into verbs in a sentence. According to the Bloomsbury Dictionary of Word Origins (Ayto, 1990) *work* can be traced back to Indo-European **werg-*, **worg-*, which means “do, work”. As a noun it passed into pre-historic Germanic, and evolved from there into English *work*. The fact that the term has been used as both noun and verb in a rather general sense may indicate the usefulness of

the topic. It is quite common for words to cross over from one part-of-speech to another, as the word fills a need. In English this may be done without any visible change to the word. The invisible pos-tag that lets us form a correct utterance is, however, necessary for us to be aware of, in order to accept the message that is conveyed. *Work* is a good example. From the basic stem of the word you have the verbs, transitive or intransitive, and the noun. But you also have derivations (*working*, *worker*) and compounds (*workload*, (*work-aholic*) of many levels.

In Japanese you have an interesting, but slightly more complicated picture. Most words with a lexical content can be written with *kanji*, Chinese characters, but the choice of *kanji* to write a word has not always been based on semantic relations. Often it has been a phonetic resemblance, or an element of both. The largest group of words in the Japanese lexicon are Sino-Japanese terms consisting of a compound, (Miyamoto, 1999 p.7) written with two or more *kanji*. 労働 *rôdô* is such a word, written with the two components 劳 which is used to mean "labour", and 働 which we know as *hataraku*, but which can be read *dô* when used in a Sino-Japanese compound. So in Japanese you may have not only a variety of words, borrowed, derived, or compounded, but you may also draw on the semantic symbols in writing to carry over elements of meaning. Word derivation does not always carry implications of interest. But it is part of a larger picture of obtaining the words we need to express nuances, attitudes and implications. An important means of obtain new terms is borrowing. When loan words are introduced they often carry only part of the content of the language they are borrowed from. But it may be a convenient way of avoiding emotional implications of using a native term. A case in point here may be the introduction into Japanese of the word ケア *kea*, "care", for the type of care work which is part of public welfare planning. It might be carried out by family members, but signal a modern attitude and professional confidence if that is the case.

3.4 Syntax and structural implicature

The preference for a lexical item can also be connected to the way the items affects its surroundings. A verb has an intricate structure of arguments that are required for a fluent message. The patterns of transitivity are sometimes described in terms of the deep structure of the clause or message (generative grammar). For other purposes it may be more relevant to focus on how phrases or clauses are arranged to bring out the relationships between the participants in the phrase. I find it relevant to look at the table, or rather the circle, Halliday

(1994) has set up for a categorization of verbals in a functional approach to language description. (Fig. 2, below). While Levin is clear in her limitation to categories of English verb classes, Halliday, though writing in and about the English language, is proposing an analysis that clearly applies to many, perhaps most languages of the world. While identifying clauses as behavioural / mental / existential may not make a difference to messages, it supplies useful tags for processes and participants in utterances. By regarding the participants as actor / patients / benefactors etc we identify the expectations of the speaker. If we have determined that *work* implies doing, creating or acting in the physical world, then the verb requires an agent suited to carry this out. As the work itself carries little or no indication of the nature of the task, a message about someone working will almost always need an adverbial phrase: where or when somebody worked, how or for what purpose.

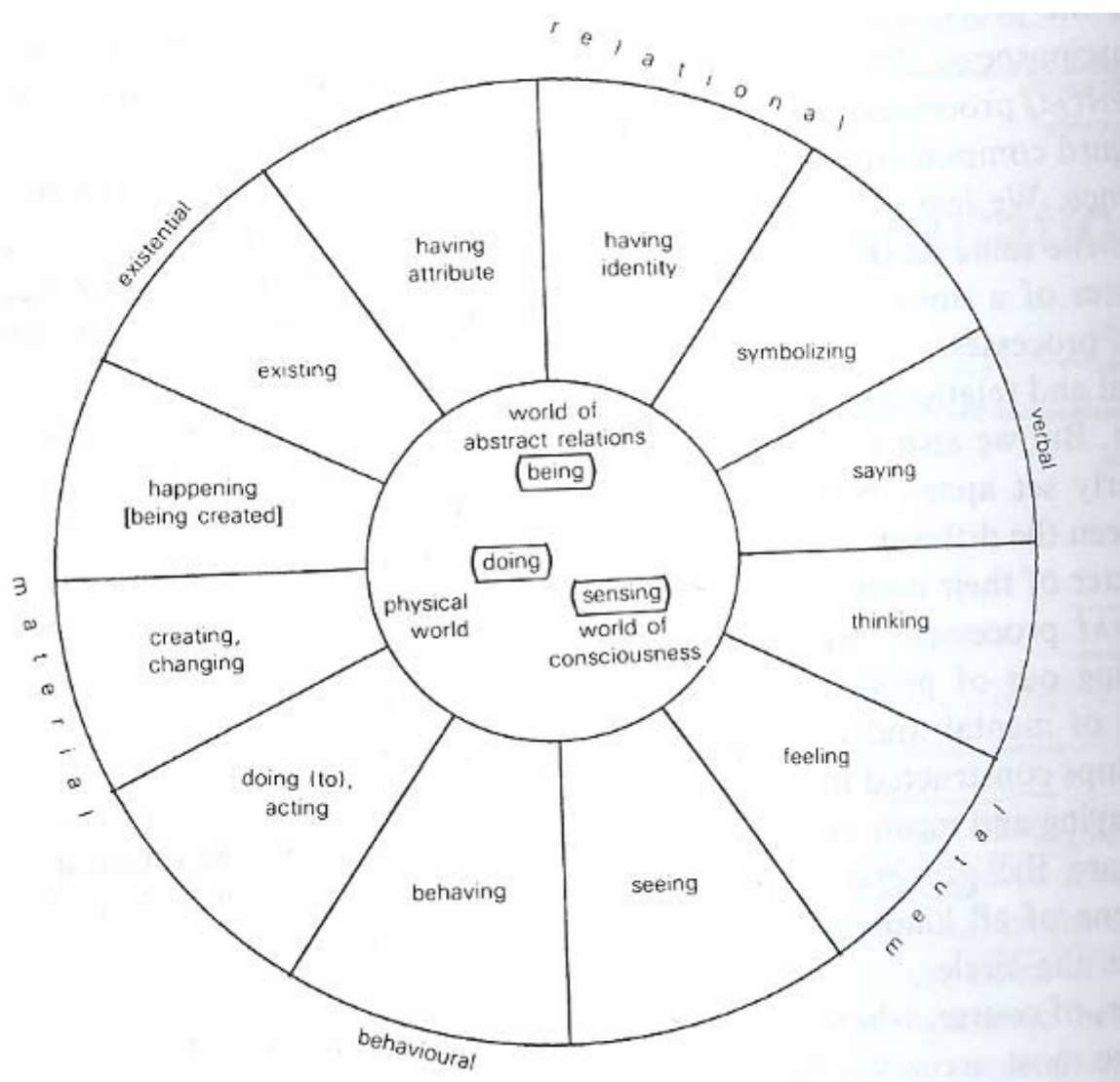


Fig 2, The grammar of experience: types of process in English (Halliday, 1994:108)

3.5 Collocations and context

Frequent collocations contribute to the most forceful implications of a word. As mentioned above in connection with *work* meaning “paid employment”, frequent collocations contribute to the meaning to a degree where it becomes unnecessary to. Any dictionary listing uses of *work* will give an example with *work hard*.

(16) 彼女はその仕事を終らせようと一生懸命働いた

[kanojo wa sonoshigoto o owaraseyô to isshôkenmei hataraitte]

She worked hard to get the work done

(ジイニアス和英辞典)

Example (16) shows the perhaps most frequent collocation with *work*, is *hard*. The Japanese translation is 一生懸命, *isshoukenmei*, “with all (one’s) might”. Looking to confirm the frequency of this collocation, I searched online dictionaries for examples of *isshoukenmei*, and found examples of *hard work* even for the shortest entries:

(17) いっしょう - けんめい, 一生懸命 [isshôkenmei]

命がけで事に当たること。また、そのさま。「—に働く」

[inochigakede koto ni ataru koto. mata, sonosama. -ni hataraku]

Do something wholeheartedly, with all ones might. --Work hard] デジタル/JK

(18) 一生懸命に仕事をしている [isshokenmei ni shigoto o shite iru] He is working **for all he’s worth** /**He is putting his all into** his work

プログレッシブ/JK

One particular collocation triggered my curiosity when it appeared in an interview with the feminist professor of sociology, Chizuko Ueno. She talks about invisible work, or invisible labor, “Japanese feminists are especially concerned about invisible labor and unpaid work”¹² Invisible work is surely not limited to the home, but it may be a feature worth particular attention in the following. With this, we will move to one of the many compounds with *work* which represents a specific type of work which often conjures up the expectation of a feminine agent in the underlying structure: *housework*.

¹² Chizuko Ueno is here quoted in an interview found on <http://www.charlest.whipple.net/ueno.html>

4 Words for Housekeeping

4.1 Categories for housekeeping

Answers will always depend on the questions posed. For the past century a main concern of national statistics has been production and economic growth. After the end of World War II there has also been a focus on leisure activities, especially media and consumer habits. Few questions have been asked about what women do at home. Two issues may change this, creating a demand for specification of housework:

- A need to identify the time women/mothers spend on domestic work, as opposed to men/fathers, as part of gender issues in social politics.
- And a need to demonstrate the amount of work carried out by women in developing countries where much of the work is not identified in economic surveys, and unpaid productive activity has an important impact on standard of living and structures in society.

Although our concern is not women in developing countries, but English and Japanese terminology, it is important to bear in mind that these terms have developed under social circumstances that have changed from generation to generation. The following paragraph from an article by Kathleen Uno may illustrate this.

“ From the Tokugawa period into the mid-twentieth century, both productive work, which sustained the [household] by producing essential goods and income, and reproductive work (childrearing, cooking, and house-keeping), which maintained [household] members, took place at home. The proximity of production and reproduction allowed men, women, and children alike to participate in tasks crucial to the household's survival. The full energies of this unity of production and reproduction for the division of labor in the small pre-industrial Japanese household is not easily comprehended by scholars who assume the physical separation of work and home life. For example, participating in [household] economic activities did not preclude helping with cleaning, cooking, or child care. Today the long workday and grueling commute allow salaried male workers scant time to spend with their children, but during the Tokugawa and Meiji periods the workplace of most fathers was near their children.” (Uno, 1991:25)

Here we find the following terminology and definitions:

- Productive work: sustain the household by producing essential goods and income
- Reproductive work: maintain the household members by childrearing, cooking and housekeeping. Uno's point is that men, women and children alike participated in tasks crucial to the household's survival, from both fields.

Turning to a recent survey of time use in Japan, the 2005 NHK survey of the nations time use, (2005 国民生活時間調査) we find a break down of the category “housework” according to content or nature of the task, (内容別にみた家事の行為者率量 *naiyôbetsu ni mita kaji no--*) (NHK, 2005 p.37) into the following four categories:

1. 炊事 (*suiji* - cooking) 掃除 (*sôji* - cleaning) 洗濯 (*sentaku* - laundry)
2. 買い物 (*kaimono* – shopping)
3. 子供の世話 (*kodomo no sewa* - childcare)
4. 家庭雑事 (*katei zatsuji* – miscellaneous household matters)

In this study I will treat terms related to care-giving in a separate chapter, and include in the category housekeeping or housework tasks relevant to maintaining a household, regardless of the status of the members. I will therefore include tasks and terms in the categories of cooking, cleaning and laundry, under the heading housekeeping, while admitting that there is no clear or obvious separation of tasks. Indeed, most mothers caring for their children at home adopt an integrated action plan for their work. Children are with them most of the day, helping and learning, being educated as the mother carries out her tasks of shopping, cooking and cleaning. Shopping will be treated under cooking, as it is essential to meal management, and in most households more of a daily task than shopping for clothes or other commodities.

This chapter, then, proceeds under the headings

- Housekeeping and housework, 家事 *kaji*
- Cooking and meal management, 炊事 *suiji*, 料理 *ryôri*
- Cleaning, 掃除 *sôji*
- Laundry and clothing care, 洗濯 *sentaku*

4.2 Housekeeping and housework, 家事 *kaji*

Since housework long has been stigmatized as the ultimate type of woman’s inferior work, it is appropriate to start by scrutinizing this term. Obviously *housekeeping* and *housework* are not synonymous, but in time-use surveys cited in this study they seem to be used interchangeably. On a UK web page National Statistics Online¹³ we find the following heading:

“Jobs About The House

Household chores still women’s work?”

¹³< www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget_print.asp?ID=288> [20 Feb. 2007]

The answer of course is yes, but the degree varies according to the nature of the chores or tasks, and the article proceeds to elaborate on the type of tasks men seem willing to undertake, and which women seem to prefer.

4.2.1 Semantic features

Semantically, the compound noun *housework* is simple yet vague and does not specify the type of activity, only the location. The nominal *house* modifies the nominal *work*, separating it from work performed in other locations. It is work done within the house, but not to the house – except perhaps for cleaning. The term *homework*, by comparison, has developed a different implication, that is “work to be completed at home”, i. e. work initiated at school or at a workplace. We have seen above that the term *work* is laden with semantic features that create positive expectations to the agent, the person working - unless, of course, the nature of the work specified is viewed as demeaning. Let us look at the features of housework, checking also to see if the word is used interchangeably with other expressions. Dictionaries suggest:

(1) **housework** / the work that you do to keep your house clean and tidy (MED)

(2) **household chores** (=chores in the home, such as cleaning or cooking) *Husbands should be prepared to do their share of the household chores.* (LLA)

(3) **housekeeping** is the work and organization involved in running a home, including the shopping and cleaning. *I thought that cooking and housekeeping were unimportant, easy tasks.* (Cob)

Since *chore* is a word with a negative implication “- task that you must do but that you find unpleasant or boring” (Cob), the first alternative underlines the low-status nature of housework. Housekeeping, however, includes an element of responsibility, “organizing”, and does not carry as many negative connotations.

Turning to bilingual dictionaries we find that overall the equivalence of housework and 家事 *kaji* is not disputed, but there is some variety when it comes to examples:

(4) **housework** 家事 [*kaji*], 家事向きの仕事 [*kajimuki no shigoto*] (裁縫・料理・洗濯・掃除など) [*saihô, ryôri, sentaku, sôji nado* – sewing, cooking, laundry, cleaning] (KKEJ)

(5) **kaji** 家事: household (domestic, family) affairs; domestic duties (chores);
housework; housekeeping

家事をやる [*kaji o yaru*] do household duties; do housework; keep house

(KKJE)

(6) 家事 [*kaji*] housework *do a lot of housework* たくさんの家事を片付ける
[*takusan no kaji o katazukeru*] --liberate women from housework 女性を家事から解
放する [*josei o kaji kara kaihô suru*]

Housekeeping • -- *housekeeping is demanding more and more of his time* ...家事
に取られる時間が 増えてきている [*kaji ni torareru jikan ga fuete kite iru*]

Domestic • --*He's afraid his wife isn't very domestic*...彼は妻はあまり家事が好き
でないと思っている [*kare wa kanai wa amari kaji ga suki de nai to omotte iru*]

(ジイニアス)

(7) 家事労働 [*kajirôdô*](n) housework. (EDICT)

(8) 家事[*kaji*] (n) housework; domestic chores; housekeeping (EDICT)

(9) ハウスキーピング [*hausuki-pingu*](n) housekeeping. (EDICT)

Japanese dictionary definitions:

(10) 家事 家庭内のいろいろな事柄。また、家庭の仕事。

[*Kaji Katei nai no iroirona kotogara. Mata, katei no shigoto*]

[Various affairs pertaining to the family and household. Tasks of the household]

(KSE)

(11) 家事 [*kaji*]

1. 家庭内の事柄。一家内の私事。[*katei nai no iroirona kotogara. etc. affairs*
pertaining to the family or household. Private, family affairs.]

2. 家庭内のいろいろな仕事。また、その仕事のきりもり。 [*Katei nai no iroirona shigoto. Mata, sono shigoto no kirimori.* Big and small tasks that support family life/living Various tasks.] (NKDJ)

The first meaning is the original, used as far back as there are written sources and meaning “family affairs”, as opposed to “public affairs”. The second use is relatively new, occurring in a quote from 1876. (NKDJ) This seems equivalent to the English *housework*, which according to the Oxford Dictionary first occurred in 1841 in the modern sense of “household chores”. Both dates bear witness to changes in lifestyle and the activities of the household. A noun to sum up the various practical tasks of running the household was needed when productive work was removed from the livingquarters of the family. On the whole the Japanese *kaji* probably has a more encompassing sense than *housework*. It retains much of the sense of family centerdness. It forms a compound noun which like *housework* has a strong feature of location or affiliation, but unlike *housework* the second element bears no resemblance or connection with a verb. It is written with the characters: (Habein & Mathias, 1991)

家 [*ka, ke ie, ya*] has a roof with a pig (豕) under it to mean “house,” as well “home, family”, and “specialist in” (p. 94 Semantic compound kanji)

事 [*ji, zu, koto*] may be essentially a hand holding a flag, or the hand may have held several bamboo sticks. The meaning, too, may have been a very similar “government service.” Its common associations now are in the area of “job, task; person in charge; incident, case, fact; serve.” (p.53 Semantic compound kanji)

The word *ie* also echoes a century of use in a political sense, where the ultimate family was the nation and the emperor the infallible head of the family to which all Japanese belonged. This is a far way from the trivial pursuits of women at work with their families, but it may account for the lingering positive connotations of “household matters”.

To sum up, *kaji* basically means “affairs of the house/family”, but it is so commonly used to day to cover the meaning of “housework”. The English expression contains the element *work* which carries with it the features of effort, volition, exertion, goal or result orientation. *Kaji*, like *housework*, would be very vague were it not for the knowledge and experience we have of what must be done in a house. So we rely on habit and implication of usage, for the common knowledge of shared reference.

Housework and *kaji* are nouns, nominals referring to things or work that needs to be done. Can they be verbalized? Although the *kaji* of Japanese households most certainly has to be done, I searched through many lists of definitions and examples before I found a verbal construction to illustrate this. This is similar, but not quite parallel to *housework*, since the latter contains the morpheme *work* which can be both verb and noun. However, we do the housework – we don't work the house. The terms *kaji* and *housework* do not immediately lend themselves to the analysis of verbs introduced in chapter 3, but we can, perhaps, study *kaji suru* as a verb. What issues are at stake when discussing nominals or verbals – nouns and verbs – in relation to tasks and activities? Here the following two questions will be posed:

- What impact does the setting of the phrase, clause or utterance in question have for word form we choose to represent an act or task? How important is our perspective on the action?
- What are the implications of verbal nouns and nominal verbs in Japanese?

We will now address these issues.

4.2.2 Doing - or talking about doing: a question of perspective.

Working – or talking about work. Obviously a completely different matter, as Jerome K. Jerome candidly phrased the famous remark: “I like work: it fascinates me. I can sit and look at it for hours”.¹⁴ Doing, observing or simply contemplating the possibility or necessity of doing something? Our choice of word form differs as our perspective requires. When we set out to talk about word choice and implications of words we choose, we must bear in mind the differences in perspective that might influence this choice. Are we cooking? Or are we watching the cook cooking? Are we talking about the meal cooked, as we enjoy a gourmet meal? Or are we discussing the task of meal management and cooking in general? The change of perspective may account for differences, and it is especially important in translations or bilingual comparisons that these variations are noted.

The perspectives may be illustrated in the relationships between information in a news page on the internet. It is possible to click a window for “live”- reports from a scene of action. Or, you may see a recorded video commented by a reporter. A third perspective is a still picture heading an article about the event, while you may take even one step further and read

¹⁴ *Three men in a boat*, 1889

comments made by a panel of experts. It has been a challenge in this paper to sort out the various perspectives. The closer you are to the action, the more likely you are to use verbs in a finite form in the clause. At the same time you are likely to choose a level of description which includes details of what is being done, how and maybe why, which give some kind of relevant information. Initially I was quite set on analysing verbs, and verbs only. Verbs represent the force of our utterances, whisking them into categories of behaviour, mental or existential clauses...(Halliday 1994). No sooner had I set up my initial grid (Table 1) than I realized that I was using nominal forms of the verbs, and that I sometimes found it more useful to simply use nouns for the tasks. *Laundry* is a case in point, as keeping clothes clean is a task cross culturally almost always left to the women of a household. When I turned from my grid to Shinobu's list, I realized how far from the kitchen my perspective was. Shinobu had been true to my request and supplied me with a list of verbs reported from the site of the action if not live, at least from the point of view of the experiencer, very close to the experience. This will be commented on further on, when *cooking* is discussed.

4.2.3 Light verb constructions.

As we compare verbs in English and Japanese it may be useful to compare phrases and clauses as well as single terms. When we scrutinize an action it may seem that our mind has a default mode for regarding the action as an object, and we will label it with gerund form of the verb, a noun form, a compound or nominal phrase. Even Levin (1993) in her lists of wordclasses gives many of them names like "cooking verbs" "verbs of grooming and bodily care", although as a rule she picks the infinitive form of a class member "*build* verbs" and "*keep* verbs". When Japanese has coined compounds to suit the activities focused on, they are easily turned into verb phrases by *suru*, *yaru* or other semantically empty verbs. These are sometimes called "light verb constructions" and described as VN+*suru*, verbal nominals with *suru* added to carry the tense and aspect needed to complete an utterance. Do they have the same verbal force as simple verbs? Miyamoto (1999 p.84) quotes four types of nominals: event, activity, achievement, and process. Much may here depend on the analysis of the verbal nominal. As we shall see, many of the key terms in this study are Sino-Japanese compounds, and the way the compound is constructed may make a difference.

4.2.4 Word formation

The variety of terms for housework show that not all terms are equally used in various word classes. It might be of interest to see whether certain terms have properties well suited for

word transformation, ready candidates when we need a new term, or whether we bend the terms of our choice to suit the function where we need them. The table below is organized into five columns. The first contains the main terms used for the category housework. The second lists the possible verbal constructions with these nominal. The third column looks for the agentive word formed from the same root, and the forth column lists specific semantic features that may be present in the term, that mark it from the very basic meaning of cleaning/cooking tasks. Finally, a fifth column was supposed to list all the Japanese equivalents. I ended up with one basic term to cover all the English, and the two variants listed with it constitute no systematic difference matching the English.

Table 6 Terms for housework

Task, noun	Related verbal	Agent role	Semantic features or implications	Japanese
Housework	Do the housework	-- Housewife?	Activities carried out at home, for a purpose (keeping up the house), by effort and exertion	家事 <i>kaji</i> 家の仕事 <i>Ie no shigoto</i> 家庭内の仕事 <i>Kateinai no shigoto</i>
Housekeeping	Keep house	Housekeeper	+ element of responsibility	
Domestic work	Do the domestic work	Domestic servant	+ tasks related to house and home	
Household chores	Do the household chores		+ lack of volition and motivation	
Jobs around the house	Do the jobs around the house		+ “even I modern homes there are things that need to be done”	
Homemaking Home economics Domestic science		Homemaker	Seen as a craft, a skill or a subject. Includes the organizing, shopping etc related to a family	

It is difficult to generalise about the formation of words here. Except for housekeeping, the tasks are verbalised by using do, creating clear material expressions in the terms of functional grammar. There is however no straightforward connection to the terms for the agents. The construction of the compound housework as a nominal, implies that you cannot derive the word for the person working as houseworker. When you choose the expression housekeeping

for the tasks in the house, you can derive the word *housekeeper* as the agent who keeps the house. Instead I suggest that the doer of housework has been tightly associated with the term housewife, although she is not an agent, but merely associated with the location house and the identity of a wife. As a contrast, *homemaking* has very different implications. The term *homemaker* can be seen as derived from the verb make and the underlying verbal argument: a home. Make is a productive, constructive, creative activity, with positive overtones, and a happy way of avoiding the derogatory implications of doing household chores. “making things happen” is a highly recommendable feature. Perhaps for this reason modern Japanese female scholars seem to prefer the term homemaker when they are translating the Japanese *shufu*. Here we are moving beyond the formation of words and touching the need to avoid certain terms. More will be said about this in Chapter 6, but the terms *home economics* and *domestic science* need mention.

(12) **hóme económics** 家政学, 家庭科.[kaseigaku, kateika] プログレッシブ/JK

(13) **do|mes|tic sci|ence**] In British schools, **domestic science** was the name used to refer to the subject which involved cookery, sewing, and other household skills. The subject is now referred to as home economics, which is also the usual American term.

COBUILD/JK

They may be seen as euphemisms, employed to give the subject more status, or, it may imply that domestic skills can be improved when taught by professionals. Recently it has been seen as an opportunity to lessen gender inequalities by introducing boys to practical tasks which they will be expected to perform in the future.

4.3 Cooking 料理 *ryôri*、炊事 *suiji*

In his table of professional equivalents Masahito Fukami (1999) likens household cooking to the work of a “student chef” “since “cooking” includes both preparation and cleaning up. “student chef” has been chosen as the corresponding occupation, in consideration of the cooking skills of ordinary families.(Fukami,1999:5) Actually, in a classification where housework is divided into cleaning, cooking and laundry, cooking represents not just the preparing and serving of meals, but planning nutritious diets for the family, shopping, cooking, serving – perhaps feeding – and washing up. In leisure time surveys there is specified time for meals and drinks, and as every person needs time for this, a housewife’s

service to children and family is often subsumed under the time she would have used to prepare and eat her own food.

4.3.1 Definitions and examples

Let us here first look at the verb *cook* to establish the lexical and semantic ground it covers. In English language use this term is so firmly established one would expect every language to have a simple and clear equivalent. But in Norwegian we resort to a phrasal construction, *lage mat*, “make food”, and the choice of Japanese equivalents is not so evident. Here are some dictionary examples; first with *ryôri*, then with *suiji*; first from English-Japanese dictionaries, then Japanese-English and finally from Japanese dictionaries.

(14) **cook** (vt) 食べ物を料理する [*tabemono o ryôrisuru* literally: make food into a meal] (KKEJ)

(15) 料理する [*ryôrisuru*] prepare (food); 「火を使って」 [*hi o tsukete*, heat by fire] cook. 彼女は料理が上手 [下手] だ [*kanojo wa ryôri ga jouzu(heta) da*] She is a good (poor) cook. (プログレッシブ/JK)

(16) 料理 [名] スル [*ryôri (n) suru*]

1 材料に手を加えて食べ物をこしらえること。また、その食べ物。調理。
「野菜を一する」 「郷土一」 (デジタル/JK)

(17) すいじ 炊事 [*suiji*] cooking 炊事する [*suiji suru*] cook メアリーが炊事当番です [*meari ga suijitôban desu*] It's Mary's turn to cook. (プログレッシブ/JK)

(18) すい - じ 炊事 スル 食物を煮たきして調理すること。キャンプ場で一する」 [*suiji suru*] [*tabemono o atakishite chôrisuru koto*. Kyampuba de *suiji suru*. Making a meal cooking food. Cook at a camp site.] (デジタル/JK)

The difference between *ryôri* and *suiji* is not easy to grasp from short dictionary definitions, since both are covered by the English term cooking. However, it seems clear that *ryôri* which

relates to meal is best suited for family cooking. *Suiji* on the other hand cover more of the work related to the preparations and cleaning after the meal.

4.3.2 Class of Cooking Verbs

Several references have been made to Beth Levin's categorization of English verbs into classes. Some lines from the introduction to her book *English Verb classes and alternations – A preliminary investigation* illustrate the connection between the semantic and the syntactic features of verbs, and the usefulness of classification. On the first page we find “the assumption that the behaviour of a verb, particularly with respect to the expression and interpretation of its arguments, is to a large extent determined by its meaning.” *Cooking* provides a good example of her analysis. I will therefore render details from the treatment of this verb.

Cook is included in two different verb class categories,

- Verbs of creation and transformation and
- Verbs of change of state

Verbs of change of state consists of seven classes: *break* verbs, *bend* verbs, cooking verbs, other alternating verbs of change of state, verbs of entity-specific change of state and verbs of calibratable changes of state. Looking at the names chosen for the verb classes, it struck me that they were mainly three types. The first, most common, was to name the class after a member verb, in infinitive form, written in italics: *build* verbs. In some cases the designation of a semantic core is preferred: verbs of instrument of communication. Thirdly some classes are designated by a central term given in a participle form following verb of: verbs of providing, verbs of fulfilling. The class of cooking verbs is unique in title. The member cook is used, but not in infinitive form, and not in italics. It is in the gerund form, but in initial position, unlike all other participle constructions in the list of classes. It struck me that the word “cooking” almost automatically replaces the word cook, the moment you want to talk about it. I will return to this point later.

Cooking verbs have the following class members: bake, barbecue, blanch, boil, braise, brown, charbroil, charcoal-broil, coddle, cook, crisp, deep-fry, French fry, fry, grill, hardboil, heat, microwave, oven-fry, oven-poach, overcook, pan-broil, parch, percolate, perk, plank, poach, pot-roast, rissole, roast, sauté, scald, scallop, shirr, simmer, softboil, steam, steam-bake, stew, stir-fry, toast. Levin illustrates properties of the class and comments:

“Many of these verbs show properties of both change of state verbs and the *prepare*-type (or sometimes the *build*-type) verbs of creation and transformation....Other verbs of cooking simply describe the cooking process and are not used as verbs of creation and transformation; these verbs do not easily allow the benefactive, unspecified object, or material/product alternations... The verbs *cook*, *bake*, *boil*, and *fry* – those verbs which describe the basic methods of cooking – are the ones that show the widest range of properties.” (Levin 1993 p.244)

Before discussing further the implications of such classification, and the relevance to Japanese verbs, let us complete the picture by looking at the verbs of preparing, listed as 26.3, where 26 is the class verbs of creation and transformation. The list of class members is different from most lists in the system because an object is specified for each: bake (cake), blend (drink), boil(egg, tea), brew (coffee) clean, clear (path), cook (meal), fix (meal), fry (egg), grill, hardboil (egg), iron, light (fire), mix (drink), poach (egg), pour (drink), prepare (meal), roast (chicken), roll, run (bath), scramble (egg), set (table), softboil (egg), toast, toss (salad), wash. Levin comments,

“Many of these verbs describe preparation of food, most of the remainder deal with other household activities. These verbs describe the creation of a product, usually through the transformation of raw materials. They are not found in the material/product alternation, since they may only take the product (“effected object”) as direct object...when the preparation is done on someones’s behalf, then these verbs are like verbs of obtaining and, like the *get* verbs, are found in the benefactive alternation.” (p.174)

Cook, however, is also listed under *build* verbs (class 26.1) Here we also find a number of verbs that might be associated with women’s work at home: out of 35 words we find the following: arrange, assemble, bake, churn, cook, crochet, cut, embroider, fashion, fold, grind, grow, hack, knit, make, mod, pound, roll, sew, shape, spin (wool), stitch, weave. These verbs describe the creation of a product through the transformation of raw material. If the creation is done on someone’s behalf, then these verbs are like verbs of obtaining, and , like the *get* verbs, are found in the benefactive alternation.

4.3.3 Shinobu's cooking

This classification of verbs has to do with predictability and expectations relating to the arguments of the clause or utterance. The behaviour of the verb is related to the sense, and verbs that share common semantic elements tend to behave in the same manner. Thus, identifying class membership for a verb will help define syntactic and semantic properties. Is this also the case in Japanese? And is it relevant to the study here? It is time to turn to Shinobu's list. Where time-use surveys use the encompassing term cooking for all time spent managing the household meals, Shinobu is more specific in her list:

From Table 2a, Shinobu's cooking verbs.

焼く	yaku	bake,roast,burn
茹でる	yuderu	boil
煮る	niru	boil, simmer
暖める	atatameru	warm, heat
沸かす	wakasu	boil
冷やす	hiyasu	cool,ice
冷凍する	reitousuru	freeze, refrigerate
炙る	aburu	broil
入れる	ireru	put in
付ける	tsukeru	apply, use, put on
塗る	nuru	spread butter on
解凍する	kaitousuru	thaw (defrost)
漬ける	tsukeru	soak, pickle
流す	nagasu	flush down the drain
蒸す	musu	steam
混ぜる	mazeru	mix, stir
練る	neru	knead
篩う	furuu	sift, sieve
量る	hakaru	measure
盛り付ける	moritsukeru	dish up, dish out
買い物する	kaimonosuru	do shopping
増やす	fuyasu	increase
切る	kiru	cut
開ける	akeru	open

At this level of detail, the language of the housewife busy in the kitchen mixing, frying steaming, we have verbs that may be said to be similar to English in the way semantically

related words tend to behave alike. The verbs are also written with one character, with a few exceptions. 冷凍する *reitôsuru* and 解凍する *kaitôsuru* are both related to modern electric equipment, refrigerator and freezer, and contain a compound noun coined as the need appeared around 1930, and consequently verbalised with *suru*. The other exceptions are the words 盛り付ける *moritsukeru* and 買い物する *kaimonosuru*. These are both *Kun'yomi* compounds, native Japanese readings of the characters. 買い物する *kaimonosuru* is, incidentally, used by Miyamoto (1999) as an example of a Japanese activity nominal used in a transitive construction with *suru* and an agent subject, to form a typical Verbal noun phrase. Although the compound does not have a Sino-Japanese reading, it does have the v+n order of morphemes which most Sino-Japanese compounds have, and the position of the noun emphasizing the nominal implication and rendering it suitable for its role as accusative object. In spite of this, or because of it, dictionary examples with the verbal 買い物する *kaimonosuru* are scarce. EDICT, for instance lists more than twenty instances of the noun and not one verbal use.

4.4 Cleaning 掃除 *sôji*

As opposed to *cooking*, the English word *cleaning* has a Japanese equivalent, which makes translation easy. How accurate is the equivalence between *cleaning* and *sôji*?

The following definition and example of the verb *clean* is typical:

(19)**Clean** *v* to remove dirt from something

I'm going to clean the windows this morning.

Cleaning *n* when you remove the dirt from things and places, especially in a house *It's your turn to do the cleaning* (CAMBRIDGE/JK)

A look at the semantic features leaves us with a strong sense of what it is not: not dirty or sullied, but pure, tidy. The adjective *clean* denotes a quality, and all senses impart this, i.e. pure, honest, complete. The nominal *cleaning* is a participle form of the verb, imparting a sense of action, something good happening: original purity being restored. Does *sôji* carry these elements?

掃 [*sô, haku*], is 扌 (hand) and the Jouyou kanji form of the phonetic 帚 (broom); it means “sweep”. (Habein and Mathias, 1991, p 232, Phonetic compound kanji)

除 [*jô, ji, nozoku*] consists of 阝 (mound) and the phonetic 余 (shovel) and means “remove, exclude; arithmetic division.” (p178, Phonetic compound kanji)

You thus have a Sino-Japanese compound of the v-v type, signalling partly the action, featuring a tool (you sweep with something) and partly a result or purpose: you remove the dirt. Perhaps because of these verbal semantic features, 掃除 *sôji* combines very easily with *suru*, and dictionary examples with verbal constructions are easy to find, even where English seems to prefer an adjectival phrase.

- (20) 掃除する (*sôjisuru*) clean 部屋の掃除をする [*heya no sôji o suru*]
clean a room 彼女は台所をいつもきれいに掃除している [*kanojo wa daidokoro o itsumo kireini sôji shite iru*] She always keeps her kitchen clean.
 床の拭き掃除をする wipe [scrub] the floor (プログレッシブ/JK)

- (21) I'm cleaning. 掃除しているところです [*sôji shite iru tokoro desu*]
 (プログレッシブ/JK)

It may be noted that the accusative marker を *o* is only used between *sôji* and the verbalising *suru* when there is no object being cleaned which requires the accusative marker. This is because you cannot have a double accusative in a clause. It may be expected that a construction where the nominal verbal is marked as accusative somehow draws more attention to itself than in a phrase where it is not. This does not seem to be the case, however. As it can be seen as a light verb construction (Miyamoto, 1999 p.36) the *suru* is semantically empty, carrying only features of aspects and tense and the v-v compound has the impact of activity based on its meaning.

To sum up, both Japanese and English terms for cleaning through very different means transmit a strong verbal element in the nominal, communicating the understanding that there is a physical, active agent somewhere in the picture.

As a term for the task of keeping a home clean and tidy, *cleaning* has little competition, though there are a variety of specific terms for washing and scrubbing, hoovering, dusting, washing windows, doing the floors etc. Most of the verbs that cover possible activities here are listed under Levin's category Verbs of Removing. (Levin 1999 p.122) *Clean* itself is listed as a member of the *clear* verbs, along with three others: *clear*, *drain* and *empty*. The class of *wipe*-verbs has two subclasses: manner subclass and instrument subclass. Among the

members of the rather large manner subclass we find verbs like *dust, erase, polish, purge, rinse, rub, scour, scrub, sweep, wash, wipe* and *wring*. The instrument subclass counts the following members: *brush, comb, file, filter, Hoover, hose, iron, mop, plow, rake, sandpaper, shear, shovel, siphon, sponge, towel, vacuum*.

In Japanese, likewise, you have a term for the category of tasks 掃除する *sôjisuru* clean and the verb *suru*, while Shinobu, in her list, above mentions in addition to *sôji suru*

磨く	migaku	polish
拭く	haku	wipe, mop
掃く	haku	sweep
片付ける	katazukeru	tidy
しまう	shimau	put away, put back

Who cleans? A *cleaner* – though acceptable – is not a very common word, until we specify what is being cleaned. Two examples demonstrate how the agentive word formation in English, where you add *-er* to the verb to get a noun representing the agent subject of the verb, in Japanese is achieved simply by adding 人 (*nin*) for person or 婦 (*jo*) for woman.

(22) 掃除人 (清掃作業員) a cleaner; ((米)) a janitor

掃除婦 (女性清掃作業員) a cleaning woman [lady] (プログレッシブ/JK)

4.5 Laundry 洗濯 *sentaku*

The Norwegian minister of education, Gudmund Hernes, had a favourite punchline exemplifying the fate of the housewife in the fifties and sixties. “When the washing machine was brought into the house, the housewife disappeared out the door.”(pc) The implication was that laundry had been a large part of what she had to do in the house, and now she was no longer needed. She had, in fact, been replaced by a machine. Although most households have a washing machine, time is still spent on clothes: washing, ironing, mending, not to mention the time buying or sometimes even sewing or knitting. More than any other household chore, maintenance of clothes is a task carried out by women. Care for clothes in a wider sense will be treated towards the end of the chapter. First let us look at *laundry*.

4.5.1 Semantic and syntactic features

The English term *laundry* is a noun denoting clothes to be washed or the process of washing clothes, or it can be a place for this. The root “lave” is from French and Latin, meaning “wash”, and the semantic features are more or less the same as for washing (clothes): MAKING CLEAN, REMOVING DIRT USING LIQUID, APPLYING WATER TO REMOVE SOIL. The English preference for French terms to improve crude chores is understandable, and reflects, perhaps, the perspective of a class of people talking about the tasks rather than actually doing them.. When we move to the field of action, we may use the verb phrase *do the laundry*, but if a transitive verb is needed in order to specify an object, *wash* is at hand.

Japanese 洗濯 *sentaku* corresponds to laundry. Turning to *sentaku* I entered the word to search JapanKnowledge base for comments and a definition in Japanese. I was surprised to find the following at the head of the first hit, an excerpt from a Japanese encyclopedia:

(23) 洗濯 *sentaku* laundry

衣類などについた汚れを洗い落とすこと。古くは洗濁(せんだく)ともいい、女性の仕事として長い間家事労働の大きな部分を占めてきたが、家庭電化による電気洗濯機の普及、新しい化学繊維や新洗剤の出現などにより、洗濯に費やす時間と労力は著しく合理化された。
(日本大百科全書 /JK)

[Wash away dirt from clothes. Earlier it was also pronounced sendaku (old character). Since it was typical women’s work, for a long time it was a large part of household labour. But after electricity led to the introduction of washing machines and you also got synthetic materials and washing powder, time and effort spent on laundry has diminished.](my translation)

The second hit was the following:

(24) 洗濯する wash 毎朝洗濯する [*maiasa sentaku suru*] I do the washing
(laundry) every morning. (プログレッシブ/JK)

Turning to Habein and Mathias,(1991) again to look for semantic elements within the character morphemes, we find:

洗 [*sen, arau*] combines 氵 (water) and the phonetic 先(foot) to symbolize “wash”.

(p.173, Phonetic compound kanji)

濯 [*taku*] combines 氵 (water) and the phonetic 翟 which began as 羽 (feather) above 隹 (bird), to suggest a peacock’s tail feathers. It means “rinse” (p.258,

Phonetic compound kanji)

Sentaku is thus a nominal compound consisting of two semantically verbal morphemes, a compound of the same v+v type as *sôji*, cleaning, and easily combining with *suru* for verbal use. NKDJ cites notes the word in use as early as 1035, in the main sense of the word:

(25) 洗濯する [*sentakusuru*, wash] よごれ・けがれを、あらい清めること。時に、衣類をあらって、よごれを落ちとすこと。 [*yogore, kegare o araikimerukoto. Tokini, irui o aratte yogore o oochitosukoto* wash clean dirty or sullied things. Especially wash clean dirty clothes]

4.5.2 Care for clothing

As with many of the verbs associated with cooking and cleaning, words on a more descriptive level for clothes management or clothes care are Japanese verbs of simple construction. Washing clothes may be universal, but related tasks may be liable to cultural variation. The Norwegian *klesvask* is a simple compound, connecting *vask*, washing, with *klede* meaning cloths or clothes. As I glanced at words Shinobu uses for her laundry, and looked up English equivalents in Levin's verb classes, I found myself humming a children's song. A popular song among Norwegian children to play around the Christmas tree, has laundry as its theme. For each day from Monday through Friday a verse presents another step towards the completion of the process of washing clothes, accompanied by appropriate motions: washing, rinsing, wringing, hanging on a line to dry, ironing. Saturday we clean the floors and Sunday we're off to church – and then rush home. Below I have entered the tasks into an activity chart like that for cooking. Admittedly, although washing clothes is still important, wringing and line-drying is so much reduced they hardly deserve mention. Ironing, however, still persists, and mending and patching. From Shinobu's list I have added folding and putting away. In the column to the right I have added the verb class where the English verbs belong. We find some of the most gender specific "jobs around the house" organized by the following verb classes and categories:

- 1 Wash, rinse, wring: Verbs of removing : *wipe-* verbs, manner subclass
- 2 Iron Verbs of removing: *wipe-* verbs, instrument subclass
- 3 Wash Verbs of creation and transformation .
Verbs of preparing (preparing food and other types of household activities) product – effected object – direct object

4 Wash

Verbs of putting: *spray/load* verbs (locative alternation – holistic or affected interpretation)

Table 7 Activity chart, maintenance of clothes

English	Norwegian	Japanese	
Laundry (do the laundry)	Klesvask (ta klesvasken)	洗濯 sentaku (<i>sentaku suru</i>)	Levin's classes of English verbs
Washing clothes	<i>Vaske tøy</i>	洗う <i>arau</i>	<i>wipe</i> verbs, manner subclass
Rinse	<i>Skylle</i>	洗い流す <i>arainagasu</i>	<i>wipe</i> verbs, manner subclass
Wring	<i>Vri opp</i>	絞る <i>shiboru</i>	<i>wipe</i> verbs, manner subclass (verbs of removing)
Hang out the laundry	<i>Henge opp</i>	乾す <i>hosu</i>	Also: verbs of preparing (verbs of creation and transformation)(wash) <i>spray/load</i> verbs (verbs of putting)
Iron	<i>Stryke</i>	アイロンする <i>aironsuru</i>	<i>wipe</i> verbs, instrument subclass
Mend	<i>Stoppe, reparere</i>	修理する	
Sew knitt	<i>Sy strikke</i>	縫う 編み物をする <i>amimonoosuru</i>	<i>build</i> verbs <i>build</i> verbs

It is too early to conclude, but there is certainly neither *wiping* nor *removing* indicate that the work may be important. It is time to turn to the tasks of women dealing with people, the work they do caring for family members.

5 Words for care

Care for family members is and perhaps always has been an integral part of the affairs of the home dictating the lives of the women of the household. Perhaps it is only when women are missing from the household that one becomes aware of their importance. The prime minister of Norway in March 2007 announced that care for the elderly and the building of day care centres for infants are two of the four main issues in the national budget for the coming year.¹⁵ In Norway we are beginning to see the cost of moving care work out of the home for parts of the day. Most of the care work is, however, still carried out in the homes. From the point of view of women working at home with dependant family members, tasks have been hard to separate and identify. It may seem that care for children is often singled out, and care for other family members either given separate terms and attention or lumped with unspecified tasks. I will focus on childcare first, but it has proved difficult to treat linguistic terms according to task- or time-use oriented categories. Besides, although there is particular focus on young women and mothers in regard to unpaid activities, the situation may soon change. When care for elderly family members becomes an acute welfare issue in a few years, care work in the home must be given more attention regardless of the age of the caregiver.

The order of the treatment of terms in this chapter will be:

- *Care*
- 育児 *ikuji*, 子供の世話 *kodomo no sewa* "childcare", 子育て *kosodate* "bringing up children"
- *Nursing*
- 看護 *kango*, 介護 *kaigo* "care for sick and elderly"
- ケア *kea* "care"
- *Help, assist*, 助ける *tasukeru*, 手伝う *tetsudau*
- *Teach*, 教える *oshieru*

5.1 *Care*

A search for key terms for tasks carried out for family members who need the support and care of a grown-up person gave some interesting finds. The tasks we are looking at are very

¹⁵ "Omsorg, miljø, barnehaver og arbeid blir de viktigste sakene for Regjeringen I statsbudsjettet for 2008." (Care for elderly, environment, day care centres for preschool children and employment are the most important issues for the Government in the 2008 national budget)
<http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/iriks/politikk/article1684475.ece?service=print>

material and very practical. A Norwegian nursery employs one adult working full time for every two or three infants,¹⁶ and maternity leave is ten months with full pay. The term *care* is, however, rather vague. It may seem that it is just so vague that it can safely be used in discussions where practical details would be complicating. In the following I will be on the look-out for alternative terms. You raise children, you bring them up; you feed them, dress them and keep them clean; you teach them and educate them; you take them to the doctor and to sports. You plan for them and look after them. Let us start with a closer look at *care*.

Looking up the verb *care* in Longman Language Activator, we find that the meaning we are looking for is placed under the key concept LOOK AFTER SOMEBODY. Other meanings are DON'T CARE, LOOK AFTER SOMETHING and LOVE. Moving to the key concept LOOK AFTER SB, we find seven different uses, headed by the definition: "to make sure that someone has everything they need, especially someone who is very young, very old, or sick". This is obviously what we need. There are several examples with *take care of*, and *care for*, and also alternatives:

- (1) *Mom will be taking care of the kids when I go to the hospital.*
- (2) *It was obvious from the boy's manners that he had been well brought up.*
- (3) *Many of those who care for the elderly do so voluntarily.*
- (4) *Tony nursed his wife through her long illness.* (LLA)

Except for *nurse*, which we will return to later, the English terms in question are phrasal verbs. The verb classes of Levin (1999) may not be immediately relevant unless we find classes that include this. We find *care* in the category of psych-verbs (verbs of psychological state), the class of *marvel* verbs. The members of this class are organised differently from most classes in the book. They are all listed according to the preposition they connect with. *Care* is listed twice, after *about* and after *for*.

"Class members:

About: bother, care, fret, mind, moon, rage, rejoice, rhapsodize, worry

For: bleed, care, cry, fear feel grieve, mourn, weep" (Levin1999 p.192)

"Comments: the members of this set of psych-verbs are intransitive verbs. Each takes an experiencer subject and expresses the stimulus/object of emotion in a prepositional

¹⁶ "minimum tre ansatte, inkludert leder, på en barnegruppe 8 barn under 3 år" (a minimum of three adults, including the pre-school teacher/principle for a group of 8 children under the age of 3)
http://www.fagforbundet.no/Modules/KB_Publish/ShowArticle.asp?PageID=663&ArticleID=8613&ShowMore=0

phrase headed by one of a variety of prepositions. These verbs are not often singled out for discussion, and if they are mentioned, they are often lumped with the *admire* verbs. However, they do not show as wide a range of behaviour as either of the types of transitive psych-verbs. Some of these verbs are used transitively as *amuse* verbs.” (Levin1993 p.193)

The fact that the phrasal verb *care for* is treated only in its psych-verb class, leads us to suspect that the emotional element in the semantic feature make-up is prominent. Even in the physical “care work” extended sense of the word it expresses positive affection and volitional responsibility in relation to the object-goal of the emotion. The fact that the word *care* has become a central term for so much work done for dependants indicates that the term has acquired this through the nominal form, as a topic, rather than through its regular descriptive force as a verb. In tracing the development of this term, it is striking that while it is now used to cover activities that dominate in time-budgets and financial budgets in more and more countries, this use of the word is given very little attention in dictionaries. An illustration: the very common dictionary for Norwegian/English and English/Norwegian, Kunnskapsforlaget Blå ordbøker (1997), *care* is listed as a noun with seven meanings, our practical sense of “care-work” being the third, and further subdivided as one of five uses, so we find it as (3)5.2: (“nurse”) *pleie, stelle* (p.66) Reversing the look-up, in the section for Norwegian-English, we find:

- (5) **pleie** (vb) (passe) look after; nurse, take care of, and
- (6) **stelle** (vb) (pleie) nurse, look after, care for, attend to.

Care in the sense it is used in *childcare* is only briefly mentioned in dictionaries. Since LLA chose LOOK AFTER SB as the appropriate key concept for this sense, more information about *look after* would be interesting. In Levin’s classification *look* is listed three times, in three different verb classes. First as stimulus subject perception verb along with class members *feel, smell, sound* and *taste*. Then as a *peer* verb, also a perception verb, but in this class all verbs are used with a preposition. The third use of *look* is as a verb of searching, class of *rummage* verbs. None of these seem to cover *look after somebody* in the sense we are concerned with.

As was the case with *housework*, it may be necessary to move closer to individual tasks of caring in order to recognise an active subject agent for the verbs. But let us first turn to the Japanese equivalents of *care*. It is practical to single out terms for childcare first.

5.2 育児 *ikuji*, 子供の世話 *kodomo no sewa*, 子育て *kosodate*

育児 *ikuji* is the term most often used in statistical material like time use surveys for childcare in general. 子供の世話, *kodomo no sewa* is used in the NHK survey (NHK2005 p.37) and is a very vague and common term, while 子育て *kosodate* is a common term used by women in conversations on raising children. ケア *kea* is a new borrowing for care, and it pops up in use for child care from time to time, but it is still mostly used for care for elderly. The Japanese time use survey rendered in fig 2 (p.21) chooses the term 乳幼児の世話等 *nyûyôji no sewa nado* “care for an infant or young child”, presumably under school age, and has a separate category for the time spent on, or with, school-age children: 子供の教育 *kodomo no kyôiku*, “child’s education”, which implies coaching the child or helping with the homework.

We will settle for the less detailed 育児 *ikuji* to start with. Let us look closer at what the terms represent. Bilingual dictionaries give us the following information:

(7) 育児 [*ikuji*] (n,vs) childcare; nursing; upbringing; (EDICT)

(8) **Ikuji** 育児 n.childcare; baby care; nursing (upbringing) of infants (children);
infant rearing (KKJE)

Looking at the *kanji* description in Habein and Mathias we find

育 [*iku, sodatsu*] combines 子 (child) inverted, to signify a newborn infant, and 肉 to suggest the meaning of “grow, nurture.” (p59, Semantic compound kanji)

児 [*ji, ni*] combines 日, a recent simplification of something taken to represent a baby’s head, and 儿 for “infant, small child.” (p 91, Semantic compound kanji)

The first character of the compound is semantically verbal. I find no verbal listing of *ikuji*, but as mentioned above, the compound itself is a v+n construction, typical of Sino-Japanese terms. The corresponding verbal expression here would be to dissolve the compound itself and rely on the single word 育 *sodateru*, which according to KKJE means “bring up, rear, foster, raise, nurse”. Here we arrive at the term 子育て, *kosodate*, the term for “bringing up children”, that women would use about what they themselves are concerned with. An on-line

dictionary suggests the two terms mean more or less the same:

(9) こ - そだて 【子育て】 子供を育てること。育児。

[*Kosodate kodomo o sodateru koto. Ikuji. Bringing up a child/children*]

(デジタル大辞泉/JK)

(10) 育児 *ikuji* (n) 乳幼児を養い育てること。育子。

[*Nyûyôji o yashinai sodateru koto, take care of and bring up a little child.*

Ikuji, bringing up babies or infants]

(NKDJ)

The entry goes on to explain how the word was introduced in 1871 in an article to support member of the royal family going abroad, to forward the education of girls for the benefit of better knowledge about child rearing.

The NHK survey (2005) introduces a term which is less scholarly and formal for the time spent with child care. 子供 の 世話 *kodomo no sewa*, a nominal phrase, meaning “care(*sewa*) for a child /children”. It translates well from - and to – English.

Sewa is a compound consisting of two *kanji*, according to Haiben& Mathias (1991)

世 [*sei,se,yo*] combined three lines to represent a thirty-year period, regarded as the length of one “generation”. It has the derived senses of “era of the world of humanity.”

(p.42 Basic form kanji)

話 [*wa, hanasu, hanashi*] is a combination of 言 (say) and the phonetic 舌 (knife, vigorous). It means “talk, tell; tale.”

(p.172 Phonetic compound kanji)

The compound *sewa* is a nominal consisting of an intrinsic n+v construction, verbalised in by the addition of *suru*. This is the opposite of the v+n compound *ikuji*. *Ikuji* is a typical Sino-Japanese compound, reflecting the VO, verb-object, word order of Chinese. *Sewa* as a compound with a native Japanese word order, has a more personal, relaxed use, and differs from *ikuji* also in how often and easily it is used as a verbal with *suru*.

Kenkyusha’s New Japanese-English dictionary renders four uses of *sewa*. Childcare is an example in the third, with the key words CARE, TROUBLE. *Sewa suru* take care of; care for; look (see) after (a person) ; have (a person) under one’s charge; have (take) charge of; see to; wait upon; worry about; take (an)interest in. The verbal *sewa suru* is translated with “take care of, care for, and look after.” (p.1504) and gives the example:

(11) 子供 の世話 をする [*kodomo no sewa o suru*] look after (take care of) a child; baby-sit; 病人の世話をする [*byônin no sewa o suru*] attend to (on) the sick; tend the sick

As with the English term *care* it may seem that the physical practical implications of the word are mere details. Looking for an example of use outside dictionaries, the following is at hand. Els-Marie Anbäcken in the interview sheet for her investigation “Who cares” (1997) has the following two question on her list. (p.287)

What do you think about care (*sewa*)?

What do you think your children think about care?

The most recent term adopted by Japanese for the discussing the task of caring for children, elderly or disabled, is ケア *kea*, a borrowed noun, easily verbalized by adding *suru*, (with or without an object marker *o*). Since it is a borrowing from the international discussion about the need for individual care, or care for groups of individuals in society, it is an opportunity to allow a second look at how terms are selected or coined to serve a specific purpose. As a result of globalization, a flow of scientific information, political and economic strategies etc, languages need a lexicon adapted to take part in the discussion. Since native terms are loaded with social, psychological and historical references, they may not be suited to the sphere of such globalized discussions. By introducing loan words, terms are used isolated from the underbrush of familiar associations. Much like *ikuji* was introduced in the 1870s, *kea* has been introduced in the 1990s to meet the need for a type of care for which society as a whole has a collective responsibility. Although individuals are still expected to carry out care work for members of the family, society needs to control the quality and supply solutions when necessary. Whereas the use of *sewa* and *ikuji* triggered the expectation of an individual care giver, the borrowed *kea* does not have these implications. The preference for *kea* for strategic reasons was underlined by Yoshiko Konishi, a Japanese graduate student at the University of California, Berkeley, where she in a presentation, "Reforms on Childcare Policies"¹⁷ pointed out that *kea* was replacing terms that might have genderbiased implications.

The lack of contents in the term we are focusing on may perhaps be compensated by useful words when we take a step closer to the action. The term for nursing is at hand,

¹⁷ 14th annual Bakai, center for Japanese studies, UC,Berkeley, on 17 November 2006

5.3 Nursing

LLA refers the notion of nursing to the key concept LOOK AFTER SB, as illustrated in the example:

(12)*Tony nursed his wife through her long illness*

Ayto comments on the developement of the word, which appeared in English in the 13th century:

”Both “suckle” and “look after” are preserved in *nurse*, which comes via Old French nourice from the late latin derivative nūtricia, although originally the “looking after” was restricted to children: the notion of a nurse as a “career for sick people” did not emerge in English until the end of the 16th century..” (Ayto, 1990 p.368)

Here we find that if we go back in time, the term is used as a verb, with the meaning “looking after”, (and especially feeding), young children. The example above, which, by the way, is based on the Longman Corpus Network (LLA, p.f8) and should be an example of what people really say, seems eager to demonstrate that it is modern and updated, without traditional gender bias.

An interesting point in the way verbs may be formed in relation to a noun designating a person, is found in Levin’s comments on the verb class to which *nurse* belongs. She has placed the verb *nurse* in the category: verbs with predicative complements. The verbs in this category are used to “characterize or describe properties of entities. The hallmark of these verbs is that they all take predicative complements.” (p.180). *Nurse* appears in the eighth and last subset, the *captain* verbs. As I find this particular class relevant and interesting, I will quote the entire paragraph (p.184)

“Class members : boss, bully, butcher, butler, caddy, captain, champion, chaperone, chauffeur, clerk, coach, cox, crew, doctor, emcee, escort, guard, host, model, mother, nurse, partner, pilot, pioneer, police, referee, shepherd, skipper, sponsor, star, tailor, tutor, umpire, understudy, usher, valet, volunteer, witness

Properties: Miriam tutored her brother

(i.e., Miriam acted as a tutor for her brother.)

(447) Her cousin clerked for judge Davis

(i.e., Her cousin acted as a clerk for judge Davis.)

Comments: The verbs in this class are zero-related to nouns. The meaning of these verbs can be paraphrased so that the zero-related noun is a predicative complement of

a verb like act. For instance the verb tutor means roughly “act as a tutor for/towards” In the paraphrase the noun zero-related to the verb is being predicated of the surface subject of the verb. The person toward whom the action is directed may be expressed as the object of the verb or the object of a prepositional phrase complement of the verb; the actual expression depends on the verb.”

The verb *nurse*, then, which was first used in English in connection with caring for, and especially nurturing infants and small children, is today used for activities typically carried out by a nurse. And a nurse, in turn, today, is typically a person trained to assist patients; sick, elderly and also infants. In the latter case the job is often specified as child nurse. A glance at the list of *captain* verbs reveals that we very quickly conjure up a picture of the person involved. The focus on the role of the subject-agent to some degree lessens the expectations towards the activity or the task. The nurse by the bedside with a glass of water, pain killing medicine and soothing words, comforts the patient by being there, and although she obviously does something, the term *nurse* does not really tell us what. Likewise, the verb *mother*, *mothering* indicates that someone is doing things typical of a mother; perhaps fussing and caring: “eat your vegetables”, “wear a coat, it’s raining”. The verb tells us something about the role of the subject-agent of the sentence; it does not point to particular actions carried out.

5.4 看護 *kango* 介護 *kaigo* ケア *kea*

Caring or nursing: what are the real tasks? Time-use surveys display statistics and rely on simple classifications, fitting individuals into a limited number of slots for calculating averages. In the list of 1-19 activities cited on page 23, we find “8. nursing. Helping family or related person to have a meal, take a bath, dress, move indoors, and to do other movements. “ (according to Mikami, 1999). However, we see that “care for family members” is also listed under category 7, “housekeeping” so 家族のケア *kazoku no kea* is obviously a very general term for all work done for the benefit of the family. The most common division is, however, to separate *ikuji* from *kango* and *kaigo*.

A closer look at 看護 *kango*, 介護 *kaigo* is necessary at this point. Habei and Mathias (1997) list the following as to the *kanji* involved:

介 [*kai*] combines 人 written as the top part of a kanji, and two lines to suggest the idea of being between two things: “in between; mediate; help.” Other senses, “shell” and “armor”, are perhaps derivative. (p.52 Semantic compound kanji)

護 [go] is a combination of 言(say) and the phonetic 護 . it means “guard, protect”

(p. 255 Phonetic compound kanji)

看 [kan] is an eye, with a hand (手) shading it, and it means “look (carefully) at; watch, look after; nurse”

(p.76 Semantic compound kanji)

Both 介護 *kaigo* and 看護 *kango* are typical Sino-Japanese nominal verbs. The latter has been in use, meaning nursing, care of the sick, perhaps a couple of centuries.¹⁸ *Kaigo* is much newer, and is typically used about care which does not require a professional nurse. All the mentioned terms meet in this short definition for an electronic dictionary:¹⁹

(13) ケア [*kea*] care 名 [n](スル) [*suru*]

3 世話すること。また、介護や看護。

[*Sewa o suru koto. Mata, kaigo ya kango.* Taking care of; attending to, nursing]

デジタル/JK

As with childcare, the choice of terms for care for other family members will depend of who is speaking, about whom they are speaking, and what is the contents of the message. *Sewa* this is a personal and informal term, suited for help between family members, well within what can be expected of a dutiful spouse or daughter-in-law. *Kea* sounds more professional and public, what you might pay for.

Who Cares?

Culture, Structure, and Agency
in Caring for the Elderly
in Japan



Fig 3 Faximile of Anbäcken's book

In her doctoral thesis (Anbäcken 1997) Els-Marie Anbäcken investigates the realities of home care and public care in Japan in the nineties. She writes:
“The reason stated in a survey 1990 for choosing a private retirement home was first of all that one could receive care (*sewa*) and nursing (*kaigo*) there;”(p 244)

“It is thus recently that this category of social welfare services really has expanded and developed not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. The most recent trend is that the emphasis has been moved from household chores to care – from *kajigata* to

¹⁸ NKDJ gives an example of use dating from 1827

¹⁹ The two first meanings refer to *care* as in “being careful” and *care* as “concern”

kaigogata”(p.171) This quote makes an explicit remark on the value of tasks. The trend is a development in quality – understood as an improvement, an advancement from household chores to nursing-type care. Looking back at the definition of nursing as a category in time-use surveys, and the list of tasks mentioned in Anbäcken’s study, there does not seem to be much difference. However, the focus may make it look like a very different matter. The reason for this, I believe, is found in the overlap of tasks that occur in real life. The English term carer or care giver covers only part of the job of caring for children, sick or elderly. Within a traditional household there may be several women, busy with a variety of tasks. The mother – or grandparent – may be doing the laundry or gardening, with the help of a three-year-old who is being looked after and educated at the same time: Which tasks are listed in a survey? Most likely the laundry and the gardening. It is the nature of family care to let the care blend into the everyday bustle in a way which will let the receiver of care live a life as normal as possible. And this, perhaps, is the essence of the problem. The care that is provided in a family setting consists of a whole range of services. Each, when defined, may not seem significant, but added together they constitute a busy workday for the provider. The most important is providing access to a home, complete with meals, laundry services and clean surroundings. But dependants need more: they need to be taken to doctors and dentists, they need outdoor activities and friends. The home needs to welcome friends and relations. Looking at the initial grid of Table 1 it is clear that being responsible for the household involves meeting the needs of the family members in various ways while keeping them safe and as healthy as possible.

5.5 Help and assist, 助ける *tasukeru* and 手伝う *tetsudau*

Whereas an effort to be specific about housework produced verbs for tasks like cook, clean, wash etc, attempts at doing the same for particulars of care-work reveal a reliance on two verbs: help and assist. Help with medication; assist with meals; accompany to the doctor; help with accounts. Helping and assisting is a very central feature of care, but it seems to be more prominent when caring for the sick and elderly than when caring for children, though the nature of the care tasks can be identical. We don’t mind feeding a hungry baby, but we hesitate to use the word with a disabled relative, preferring the expression assist at meals, or assist with intake of food and drink. This may have to do with the roles of the carer: Masahito Fukami (1996) suggests the professional kindergarten teacher as the role standard for child care, a nurse assistant for elderly/nursing care, and, we might add, for volunteer work, “weighted average for service industries.” (p.23) The reason for a side glance at this last

category, is that unpaid care for other than family members in Japanese time-use survey tradition falls into this category. Also the word "service" in many ways bears a resemblance to the word assistance, and though we do not focus on it here, we might bear in mind the widespread attitude of expected service whenever need arises. As we shall see, serving and service, linger in the background in this field.

For many of these activities the verbs that carry the tense and aspect of the description are terms like *help* or *assist*. Looking for help in the LLA, we find that HELP is indeed a key concept. Even allowing that the word is used when other concepts are more central to the meaning i.e. CURE; COMFORT/ MAKE SB FEEL BETTER; SUPPORT A PERSON, GROUP, OR PLAN, PAY FOR, we find 13 different uses of help listed, with many alternative expressions.

(14) *Dad, I can't do my homework. Will you help me?*

(15) *I was lucky when the children were small, as my mother was always ready to help.*

(16) *Woodward offered to help clean up after the party.* (LLA)

The semantic features seem simple but are not easily defined: you can help when someone is in trouble or need of some kind, and your contribution makes things less difficult. There is an informal element, a lack of obligation. Help is usually voluntary, often lasting a short time, or limited in some way. This is clear in many alternatives: "help out", "lend a hand", "do sb a good turn", "do your bit." *Assist* is defined as more formal:

(17) ...a formal word meaning to help someone do something, especially by doing all the simple or unimportant things for them so that their job is easier. *I was employed to assist the manager in the restaurant, not to do the cooking.* (LLA)

While *help* is essentially seen as a Germanic word, *assist* was introduced via French from Latin, a compound verb meaning "stand near". *Assist* is still used in this sense, suggested under the key concepts ATTEND and THERE. Although a person who helps by implication is not the main focus of the action, still it is a person in reasonable control of the situation, with power to make life easier for someone in a difficult spot. Someone assisting, however, seems less in control. An assistant is probably told what to do, with little power and little responsibility. You have two actors, a shared activity and the verb *help* or *assist* organizes the relationships.

Turning to Japanese we find the term 手伝う *tetsudau* which seems to cover most of the use of help, but also 助ける *tasukeru* Habei and Mathias (1997) inform us that:

手 [*shu, te, ta*] means “hand” or “hand and arm”. Derived therefrom are senses of “something done by hand, skill; one who does it”. 助手 [*joshu*] assistant

(p.29, Basic form kanji)

伝 [*dai, tsutaeru*] is the form of 傳 chosen for the Jouyou kanji, イ (person) combined with the phonetic 専 (spinning). Its meanings are “transmit, pass on; legend; annotation; annotated text”

(p.222, Phonetic compound kanji,)

助 [*jo, tasukeru, suke*] combines 力 (strength) and the phonetic 且 (pile on) and means “assist, help.”

(p.141, Phonetic compound kanji)

The compound 手伝う *tetsudau* has the sense of supporting or helping by doing something close to the person who gets the credit. 助 *tasukeru* has more of a “rescue” sense. A cry for help if you are in peril would be *tasuke*, but if you need help to finish something in a hurry, you might be content to use *tetsudau*.

(18) Go and help to wash up 行って彼 かたづけの手伝いをしなさい [*itte kare katazuke no tetsudai o shinasai*]

(19) He helped the old woman across the street to the store.

彼は老婆が通りを渡るのを助けてその店まで連れて行ってあげた

(ジイニアス)

(20) She helped him off with (out of) his clothes and on with (into) warm pajamas.

彼女は彼が服を脱いで暖かいパジャマを着るのを手伝ってあげた。

(ジイニアス)

However, a third solution may be more noteworthy. The message contained in English clauses with *help* or *assist*, may be rendered by syntactic and morphological solutions. Bilingual dictionaries demonstrate that in messages of help and assistance, there are various syntactic solutions, involving causative form, forms of politeness defining roles, or other ways of circumscribing the English *help*, in addition to straight forward equivalences.

(21) My mother used to help me with my lessons. 母が勉強を見てくれました

[*Haha ga benkyo o mite kuremashita*]

(KKEJ)

Literally: “she was good to me, looking at my studies; she did me the favour of looking at my homework”. Here the English *help* is replaced by the polite syntax and forms and choice of verb. The power structure of the arguments is revealed by the morphemes: the choice of *kuremashita* reveals that mother is a respected person compared to me, the receiver of the attention.

There may be derogatory implications of the constant assisting and helping of a care/person may be seen in the term お手伝いさん *otetsudaisan*, which is a maid or domestic help. However, Japanese polite structures may resolve this by arranging suitable relations of respect and indebtedness between the helper and the person helped. So language mirrors a tension which is also part of experience. The helper is at the same time a servant and a person in power, at liberty to use this power only when it is to the benefit in the family.

5.6 Teach 教える *oshieru*

When children are involved, help and assistance often has a particular objective: to guide the child to skills and understanding. The mother *teaches* or *educates* her child from the very first day. More will be said about mothers as educators in the next chapter. But in the wake of nursing, helping and caring let us look closer at teaching. Can this word serve to explain the enormous responsibility mothers have in their task of raising their children?

According to Ayto (1990 p.522) “to teach someone is etymologically to ‘show’ them something”. The word dates back to prehistoric Indo-European **deik*, and related words like *dictionary* and *token* have found their way through different languages to modern English usage. Levin (1991) lists *teach* among verbs of transfer of a message: ask, cite, demonstrate, dictate, explain, explicate, narrate, pose, preach, quote, read, recite, relay, show, teach, tell, write.(p.202) She further remarks that the set is included “to exemplify a set of verbs of communication that may have a to phrase indicating the addressee...most of these verbs may take sentential complements..” and gives the example “Wanda taught the students that the world was round.” (p.203)

For more information on the semantics of *teach*, we can turn to the Longman Language Activator. Here TEACH is a key concept. For the first definition we find, “to teach someone a skill or how to do something” with the two first examples as follows:

(22) *My father taught me to swim*

(23) *Who taught you to cook so well?*

Under other senses of the word we find the definition:

(24) To **teach** your child or children to behave or think in a particular way as they grow up. (LLA)

Most of the other uses of *teach*, however, are linked to the teaching performed in an educational setting, carried out by professional teachers, coaches, instructors etc. We have so far found semantic features SHOW, TRANSFER MESSAGE, SHOW HOW TO DO SOMETHING, OR A SKILL. Looking for mothers as teachers in dictionary examples seem to be in vain.

(25) **teach** to give (someone) knowledge, instruct or train someone (CID)

(26) **teach** to help students to learn something in school, college, university etc by giving lessons. (MED)

Down the page however, we also find an example with *mother*:

(27) *His mother had taught him some words in Spanish* (MED)

Turning to bilingual dictionaries, the situation for once seems quite simple. There is no dictionary where the first suggestion for teach is not 教える *oshieru* – and vice versa. The KKJE gives a number of alternatives to teach for *oshieru*, and the list conforms well with the features we found above. Among the suggestions are “give lessons, instruct, impart, show, tell, inform, educate.”

In Habei and Mathias (1997) we find (p.175, Phonetic compound kanji)

教 [*kyô, oshieru*] ..is a combination of 父 (action) 子(child), and the phonetic 交 (*kô*) (cross; exchange). It means “teach, educate; religion.”

I have been looking for a term for the important work a mother does in teaching her child. In Fig 1 we find the category is 子供の教育 *kodomo no kyôiku*, “the child’s education” for time used with school-aged children. If education is what the mother does, what does it mean?

教育 する 知識を与え、他人の能力を伸ばすこと。現代では、学校教育をさす場合が多。[to educate: to give knowledge, increase somebody’s capability. Today it is used mostly about education in school, or the school system.] (NKDJ)

The most authoritative dictionary in Japan suggests that *kyôiku* primarily is used about school education. The mother's role must be as a coach or supporter for the child's school work. This seems to be a task with increasing importance, and one that challenges the mother's talents and enthusiasm in a very different way than cleaning and cooking.

6 Words for women who work at home

We have seen that there often is a relation between the word for an activity and the word for the person who is the agent, or the actor. It can be a zero relationship, like cook – cook, nurse – nurse. Or the words may share the same root or stem: work – worker, teach – teacher. In Japanese you most often compound a term for the agent by adding 人 (*nin*, person) 手 (*shu*, hand) 屋 (*ya*, craftsman) 者 (*sha*, person) 女 (*jo*, or other characters for this, woman).

When a particular type of work is stigmatized in a society, the word for a person doing this work will soon become derogatory. The search then begins for a better expression, a term free from derogatory connotations. In this section I will focus on some terms that may exemplify this, and compare their implications. I will let the tasks and verbs rest for a moment, but return to them in the final chapter.

Norwegian *husmor*, English *housewife* and Japanese *shufu* are designated to approximately the same referents, and most translators or interpreters will use them as equivalents. A closer look will, however, yield many nuances, and as it is part of the purpose of this study to warn against posing a burden of outdated connotations on cultures that need fresh terms, it is worth looking closer at the terms and their use.

6.1 Norwegian *husmor*

Husmor is a compound noun, consisting of the noun *hus* (“house”) plus the noun *mor* (“mother”, the first modifying the second. The concept clearly refers to the chief woman of a household, giving this status to the mother no doubt because she was the wife of the head of the family, but never the less naming her role as mother. The term became central around the end of the 19th century, in a movement to improve the condition of women and households by educating women and raising public consciousness about their responsibilities. The first schools *husholdnigsskoler*, later *husmorskoler*, appeared in 1890 (Nossum, 1999). The duties of a *husmor*, and the ideal education for her tasks, may be understood if you look at the table of contents of the textbook *Husmorboka* which appeared in 1930. The headings are:

Hus og innredning	(Home and interior)
Skikk og bruk	(Customs and manners)
Arbeidslære	(Theory of work)
Husstellbakteriologi	(Household bacteriology)
Oppvask	(Washing dishes)

Rengjøring og klesvask	(Cleaning and laundry)
Helselære	(Health)
Spedbarnsstell	(Childnursing)
Sykepleie i hjemmet. Førstehjelp	(Nursing and first aid)
Kostlære	(Nutrition)
Husstellfysikk	(Domestic science)
Husstellkjemi	(Domestic chemistry)
Elektrisitetslære	(Electricity)

This was basically the curriculum of these schools even into the sixties, when a large middle class of nuclear families were preparing to reorganize their time and priorities. A subset defining the women in these families emerged:

Yrkesarbeidende kvinner for career women

Utearbeidende (husmor) for a woman in charge of a household, with a paid job outside the home

Dobbeltarbeidende for a woman, usually a mother, who does a full workload of housework in addition to a paid job outside the home

In this frame the traditional housewife became *hjemmeværende husmor*, or just *hjemmeværende*, which literally means “being at home”, a housewife who is, or stays, at home. Many mothers found that this did little credit to their full days of childcare etc, and insisted on the term: *hjemmearbeidende husmor*, “working-at-home”, allowing them at least the acknowledgement that they are doing something (*arbeidende*), not just being (*værende*). If a family or household lacked a housewife, and could afford to, they would hire a *husholderske*, a housekeeper. The word corresponds to English *housekeeper* in almost all ways, but it has the suffix *-ske*, which defines the gender of the referent as feminine. Upper class families where the lady of the house left most household affairs to servants, would be termed *husfrue*, a term with an air of Danish bourgeoisie lingering on through the 20th century, disappearing together with titles and terms of respect, and especially feminine titles, from the beginning of the 1960s.

6.2 English *housewife*

Housewife is also a compound noun, consisting of the noun house modifying the noun wife. According to Ayto (1990) “*Wife* originally meant simply “woman”, but the semantic restriction to “married woman” began in the old English period and has become more and more firmly established as the centuries have passed.” (p.574)

Here are some dictionary definitions of *housewife*, starting with Webster’s Unabridged Dictionary from 1892 (The dates are included since they are relevant.)

(1) **housewife** 1. The mistress of a family. 2. A female economist; a good manager
3. One skilled in female business. (WUD 1892)

(2) **housewife** woman head of a family, who runs the home, brings up the family, etc.
(OxA 1974)

(3) **housewife** a woman who does not have a full-time job outside the home and who
spends her time doing housework, cooking, looking after her family etc [note for
learners: A man who does this is called a house husband.] (OxWPD 1993)

(4) **housewife** a woman whose work is inside the home, cleaning, cooking etc, and
who usually does not have any other job. (CID 1995)

(5) A **housewife** is a married woman who does not have a paid job, but instead looks
after her home and children (Cob 1995)

(6) **housewife** a woman who does not work outside the home and whose main job is
looking after her children, cooking, cleaning etc (MED 2002)

The shift of meaning is striking: The mistress of the family in 1892, still important in 1974 as “head of family”– described by the verbs “runs the home”, “brings up the family”, is by the nineties defined by her lack of paid work: “does not have a full time job”, “usually does not have any other job”; “does not have a paid job” “does not work outside the home”. And the verbs illustrating her activities are: *cleaning, cooking, looks after* home and children.

Working women who have needed terms for their status as family heads and career women seem largely to have settled for the term *working mother*. In contrast to this, the American English term *stay-at-home mom* has developed, to describe a modern mother who does not leave her child to care outside the home. This term in many ways is parallel to the Norwegian *hjemmeværende husmor*. It is a phrasal nominal, the head word is the noun *mom*, and the modifying expression *stay-at-home* is itself a phrase consisting of the verb *stay* and the prepositional phrase *at home*, stating a location for *stay*. *Stay* is an extremely passive and empty word, meaning “not move”, “be in the same place”. The term *stay-at-home mom* is new, appearing in the US in the 1980s. The expression used without *mom* however, has been in use longer. The OxA 1974 list it as follows:

(7) **stay-at-home** (n) person who seldom goes anywhere; unadventurous person.

The dictionaries of the nineties, however, include the *stay-at-home mom*, for instance

(8) **stay-at-home** (adj) choosing to stay at home instead of going to places to meet friends or do interesting things.

stay-at-home mom/dad Am E a parent who stays at home to look after their children instead of working outside the home. (MED2002)

6.3 Japanese 主婦 *shufu*



Fig 4 Japanese housewife in the thirties²⁰

Bilingual dictionaries do not hesitate to treat housewife and *shufu* as parallel concepts:

(9) **Shufu** 主婦 the mistress; a housewife 主婦の勤目 [*shufu no kinme*] the duties of a housewife 除・洗濯などの 主婦を勤める (*sôji, sentaku nado no shufu o tsutomeru*) manage (run, mother) one's household (KKJE)

(10) **Housewife** (n) 主婦 [*shufu*]; a good (bad) housewife 主婦 世帯

²⁰ <http://www.east-asian-history.net/>. [22 March 2007] The illustration has the following translation of the text: "You become a housewife," the headline proclaims. Now what? Now the the burden of cooking weighs heavy on your pretty little shoulders. But there's no need to worry because Aji-no-Moto soup bases will make everything both easy and good tasting. (late Taishô period)

持ちのよい悪い女。[shufu sho tai mochi no yoi (warui) onna] (KKEJ)

Looking for information in the the characters that spell the word, we find, according to Habei and Mathias (1997)

主 [shu] originally a picture of a burning oil lamp, is thought to have represented a word meaning “stay”. Its common associations are “primary”, and “owner, master” probably as the one who, unlike a visitor, stays. (p.43 Basic form kanji)

婦 [fu] is a combination of 女(woman) and 帚(broom). It means “housewife” “matron” (p.84 Semantic compound kanji)

The image of a woman with a broom staying at home certainly seems to fit the stereotype of a housewife of Western culture. But Els-Marie Anbäcken makes the following comment on this comparison:

“Reischauer writes that the traditional position of Western women is the “weaker sex” while Japanese women are proud of their dominant role and are the “stronger sex” (1980 p.212). While in Japan it is not only socially accepted but also applauded that women are housewives, or homemakers, in Sweden a large share of women’s identity is tied to her gainful employment outside the home.” (Anbäcken, 1997 p.58)

The identity of modern Japanese women is also the question posed by Hiroko Hara in “主婦研究 のすすめ shufukenkyû no susume” – “The advance of Housewife Research”, in the series Feminism in Japan.(1995 p.58). She states that it is not at all clear when the word *shufu* can be used in Japanese society today (今日の日本社会で[主婦]とういことばがどういう時に使われるかは、ひじょうにあいまいである) and points out that the circumstances under which women are consciouss about themselves as *shufu* are very indistinct indeed. (いづつかなる状況のもとで[主婦]であると認識するかも明確ではない) For instance, a woman who is helping her husband in a family company, taking part in farmwork etc, will also call herself *shufu*, as might a well-to-do lady with domestic help to do the housework. She might even be a *shufu* while employed outside the home. Hara further quotes the definition from KSE: 主婦 主人の妻で、一家のきりもりしている婦人。女あるじ。[*Shufu* housewife: the husbands wife, lady who in charge of the tasks of the house.] This highlights an important feature: she is a married woman, somebody’s wife,

6.4 良妻賢母 *ryōsaikenbo* good wife wise mother

If we wish to focus on the ideology attached to the housewife we can hardly avoid looking at the term 良妻賢母 *ryōsaikenbo* good wife, wise mother

This term was introduced in the turbulent years after the Meiji restoration in 1868, to encourage and justify the education of women. It was, however, redefined, the content and specification of the expression adjusted to serve conservative purposes after it became clear that educated women might want to use their education in the public sphere of society outside the home. So the term propagated in the 1920s was used with the explicit purpose of restricting the movements and influence of women. The term is worth a closer look. In a period where thousands of Sino-Japanese compounds were coined to accommodate new knowledge and sciences, this term bears no equivalence to any English international expression. Again I turn to Habei and Mathias (1997)

良、[*ryō, yoi*] signified measuring with a box measure, but was borrowed for good.

An alternate hypothesis is that it depicted a container of washed cereal grain and that the meaning good derived from clean (p.42 Basic-form kanji)

妻 [*tsuma, sai*] semantic compound kanji joins a hand to suggest working, with a combination of 女 and a mark representing a hair ornament to evoke an adult woman. the adult woman who does the housework is the result it means wife.

(p.84 Basic-form kanji)

賢 [*ken, kashikoi*] 貝 wealth and the phonetic 叕 stiffened, means “wise, smart”

(p.238 Phonetic compound kanji)

母 [*bo, haha*] shows a woman 女 with dots for the breasts. It means mother. Like mother in English, it has a derived sense of from which one comes or to which one belongs (p.28 Basic-form kanji)

This four character compound is modelled after traditional Chinese expressions of wisdom, or proverbs. Thus it is lifted into a sphere – genre – of wisdom and experience, as the arrangement of four characters follows a traditional formula: two parallel compounds, each consisting of a qualifier of excellence, modifying a noun. Each of these nouns is a role or an identifier, reflecting a relationship. Wife reflects a relationship to a husband, and mother

reflects a relationship to a child, and the synergy effect of the four characters together is a timeless ideal, the perfect woman. Dictionaries do not give much additional information about this expression. KKJE lists two separate items:

(11) **ryôsai** 良妻 a good wife

(12) **ryôsaikenbo** 良妻賢母 a good wife and a wise mother

良妻賢母主義の教育 (*ryôsaikenboshugi no kyôiku*) an education for making good wives and wise mothers

Good and *wise* are per definition positive goals and ideals. The semantic value of the words, beyond the positive surface meaning, depends on the common knowledge it is referred to, in this case knowledge of what is good and bad, wise and stupid, for a wife and a mother. The vacillating social background leaves the implications of the expression to the experience and opinion of influential opinion producers. It was coined as an important slogan for educating women, involving them as responsible and active partners in the family. When this was seen as a threat – that women may become too active and responsible – the same slogan was used to impress limitations on women's scope of activity: good and wise, by all means, but as a wife and mother only, and definitely not in an arena outside the household.

Has *ryôsaikenbo* been given the burden as a *housewife* doing invisible *housework*?

Or are the connotationian on a psychological level, defining relations?

In her preface to *ryôsaikenbo* Shizuko Koyama (1991) writes:

ある人は、良妻賢母 という言葉を聞けば、非常に古めかしい死語のごときものをイメージし、なにを今さらと思うかもしれない。しかしはたして本当に過去の言葉なのかと問い返してみれば、そうでないことは明らかであろう。職業をもつ女がこれほど増えてきた今日であっても、相変わらず、女は家庭を守り、妻・母役割を果たすことが第一義的に求められている。それを肯定的にとらえるにしろ、不定的にとらえるにしろ、現代の女たちに一つの理想的な生き方として良妻賢母が求められていることは紛れのない事実なのである。あるいは、女たちは自らの心の内に良妻賢母のイメージを作り、それを一つの価値判断基準にして自らの行動を律している、といえるかもしれない。

Some people may think when they hear the expression "good wife, wise mother" that it is an obsolete term, very old fashioned. But if you look again you may find that it is not really so out-dated. Even today, when more and more women have paid jobs,

looking after the family as mothers and wives is a primary duty. Whether you see this as a positive or a negative thing, either way it does not reduce the fact that the "good wife wise mother" way of life is an ideal for today's women. Or you could perhaps say that women keep this image deep in their hearts and use it as a norm for measuring their own actions. (my translation)

So it may seem that although the term is spoken or written in different contexts than housewife and 主婦 *shufu*, in attitudes and expectations the semantic field may cover much of the same contents. Some comments on the role and understanding of Japanese wives may give a better picture. First we may look at Els-Mari Änbacken, who not only grew up in Japan but wrote her Ph.D thesis on caregiving in Japan. She says:

"It is one of my objects in this thesis to show that the values pertaining to the roles of women that were established in the Meiji, Taisho, and early Showa periods, have continued to hold their grip on how Japanese society defines the role of women as caregivers down to the present days in spite of great changes in women's and family life... Women of today: Homemakers, Education Mothers, Caregivers in the Family and workers in the labor market." (p.58)

"still the emphasis on children's education from the 1970s on has strengthened her role as mother, since she is supposed to coach her children with the schoolwork,... One area of particular strength for her is that she is in charge of the family economy, and usually runs the home rather independently..(p.59)

If Änbacken's observations are correct, the Japanese *shufu* differs from the Western housewife in several ways. Maybe this is made even more explicit in then research of Sachiko Ide, who was awakened to a feminist view of linguistic scholarship when she read Robin Lakoff's *Language and Woman's Place* in the mid-1970s. Thirty years later she writes a commentary in the new edition of Lakoff's text, "Exploring Women's Language in Japanese." Ide conducted research to find out why gender issues in language were so different in Japan and England. Ide concludes that difference in the speech of men and women "...was not due to gender difference per se but to the different roles in which women and men engage in their lives.... Since it was a general tendency to use more polite speech in social interaction than in workplace interaction, it is natural for both women and men to use polite speech in ways that reflect this general distinction.... it became clear that women's use of more polite language was not due to their subordinate position in society. Instead, it was because most

female subjects were housewives whose roles primarily involved social interaction. This was the reason for their use of more polite honorifics.“ (Ide in Lakoff, 2005 p.181) Ide goes on to explain that women’s language in Japan has been regarded as elegant and beautiful, reflecting the dignity of sophisticated speakers. She concludes that you might rightly speak of linguistic imbalance in an individualistic society where egalitarian ideals prevailed, but, “Japanese society assumes role differences...if one has a different role from the other, it is a matter of difference that may work complementary.” The speech of women is adapted to the role, and considered elegant and dignified. Ide is here saying that the women are performing tasks in society that are of a nature that requires dignity, elegance, and I may add in view of complicated honorific constructions and special vocabulary, education.

The second Japanese contributor to the commentaries to Lakoff’s text, Yoshiko Matsumoto, does not share Ide’s views on women’s language in Japan. But she does have some interesting remarks on changes occurring in Japanese women’s language. First she remarks that characteristics of women’s speech in Japanese, such as honorific forms, can be more clearly located in morphology than in languages like English, and that speakers thus are more easily aware of differences. The assumption is that language choice is done well aware of roles and relationships, and changes can be easily observed. Matsumoto makes two points regarding such changes in women’s roles and language choice. First, changes in attitude are occurring. “Sociological studies of urban homemakers show that they are becoming more regionally active, with increased social participation outside the home through part-time jobs and volunteer activities...Japan now is a clearly different world than that associated with the traditional gender stereotypes.”(Matsumoto in Lakoff, 2005 p.247), the second point I found noteworthy is that changes in the direction of certain Western ideals are counter to the modernisation that Lakoff and feminine scholars would welcome. An ideology where women are the weaker sex, feminine and cute and helpless, observed especially among teenagers, is actually very far removed from the “good wife, wise mother” of a century of Japanese women, but it is also far removed from feminist ideals.

7 Towards a conclusion

Does our choice of words and use of language somehow sabotage due respect to women for the work they do? So far I have suggested several lines of investigation and collected clues along the way. It is time to evaluate this material and draw conclusions if possible.

7.1 Do women work?

The linguistic investigation of terms for women's work started with a semantic features analysis of the term *work*, see page 28. I found a creative subject-agent, the result of the action is tangible and/or necessary, so the act is oriented towards the result. It is assumed volitional unless otherwise defined, worth some kind of appreciation. In addition there is a consciousness of the activity taking time. So we find the following implications of meaning: **work**: active, strong, creative, making an effort, volitional, goal-or result oriented, appreciated, valued, timeline. There is a link between some of these: the active and strong agent; the creative effort, a will to perform; the goal or result is valued or appreciated in some way, identifying the purpose, the timeline, implying a movement forward, forward. Running through the typical women's task, let us see which of the features are present, and which features may be missing from the terms.

Table 8 a Semantic features for *work* etc

	ACTIVE AGENT	CREATIVE AGENT	VOLITIONAL	GOAL/RESULT ORIENTED TASK	TIMELINE	WORTH, APPRECIATION
Work	Yes	Often	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, paid or otherwise
Housework	Yes	Sometimes	Sometimes	Yes	Repetitive	Limited
Cook	Yes	Often	Yes	Yes	Yes	Most often
clean	Yes	Seldom	Seldom	Yes	Repetitive	Limited
Do the laundry, ironing etc	Yes	Seldom	Sometimes	Yes	Repetitive	Limited
Care for	Sometimes	Sometimes	Yes	Mostly	Slow	Often
Nurse	Yes	Sometimes	Yes	Yes	Slow	Often
Teach	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Slow	Limited

We find that the household verbs all demonstrate the need of an active agent, perhaps with the exception of doing the laundry, which in a narrow sense can be carried out by a washing machine. But a washing machine cannot sort, mend, fold and put away the clothes, so we will still appreciate that there should be an animate subject agent.

As for the creative element of housework, it may be absent from most types of work from time to time, but it is my belief that modern society perhaps does not appreciate the creative aspects of women's work, and the feature may be undeservedly absent from the word. The tendency to prefer *homemaker* to *housewife* in certain studies, especially in American English, may be an expression of a need to make room for the more creative, and positive aspects of housework, where British English seems to prefer *household chores*, which is without the creative elements.

Housework is goal-oriented, and the result is often visible, at least for a short time. But there is a great difference in appreciation: Whereas paid work has a double result, the work done and the money earned, housework is often appreciated only by an "inner circle", the family and friends who visit. Sometimes there is no appreciation at all, and the work becomes invisible. It follows that the person doing the work goes unnoticed and unappreciated. The appreciation, however, may depend on cultural and social factors which are very real and rewarding: healthy looking children in spotless white shirts, family members who sit down round the dinner table, content and happy to be home, to be together.

Two features of work need commenting on. One is the timeline. Work is somehow expected to be completed. Payday at least marks a kind of progression or temporary achievement. Many tasks like cooking and cleaning at home may yield a result which is very quickly replaced by new demands, with no pay to show for the work done. The repetitiveness of household chores may contradict any feeling of achievement.

The second is the volitional nature of work. I see it as a feature in the default use of the word. Where work is seen as primarily negative, too heavy, or involuntary, it is usually evident from special context of slavery or husbandry, of forced labor in labor camps, or in the negative setting of too much homework for school children.

On the whole, we find that most types of housework have the same element of active subject agent and focus on outcome or goal, as work. However, several tasks are not associated with possible creativeness, there is less appreciation, less obvious volition and less notion of time,

both of which may imply less accomplishment. The term which has most of the positive implications of *work*, is *cooking*. Perhaps there is a reason why young fathers today are not so unwilling to contribute to the cooking?

Replacing the English terms with Japanese equivalents, I sat down with friend, Yumi, who is a sensitive and sensible native speaker of 33, with a good command of English, to discuss nuances in the semantic features make-up of the terms. The table is filled in based partly on evidence from examples in chapter 3-6, and partly on her intuitive understanding. I will here present her evaluation.

Table 8 b Semantic features of *hataraku* etc.

	ACTIVE AGENT	CREATIVE	VOLITION OR CONSENT	GOAL, RESULT	TIMELINE	WORTH APPRECIATION
仕事する	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
働く	Yes	Not so much	Yes, not always	Yes	Yes, but not distinct	Yes, at least the salary
家事する	Yes	No	Yes, duty	No	No	Partly
料理する	Yes	Yes	Yes, duty	Yes	Yes	Yes
掃除する	Yes	No	Well, duty	No	No	Hardly
洗濯する	Yes	No	Yes, duty	Yes	No	Partly
育児する	Yes	?	Yes	?	?	?
介護	Yes	No	Duty	No	No	Hardly
教える	Yes	Yes	Yes	?	No	?

働く *hataraku* and 仕事する *shigoto* both mean work, but looking at the features they are not equivalent. An overall impression is that *hataraku* carries more implications of “hard work”, like labour. *Shigoto* is a more clearly defined a limited task, with an element of duty. It engages or holds the subject responsible. In one way it has more of the positive, volitional elements of work, whereas *hataraku* has more of the physical strength.

Turning to 家事する *kaji suru*, Yumi would not allow the term to be derogatory in itself, though there is little room for creativity and perhaps little appreciation. It may seem that *kaji* is more encompassing and contains more responsibilities than housework does, e.g. household accounting and see also the 食事の管理 *shokuji no kanri*, meal management of Fig. 1.

As in English, 料理する *ryôri suru* can be creative, and certainly appreciated. Yumi did not like the term *suiji* from the time use survey, as this focused more on the cleaning and less on the cooking, and did not carry the positive implicatures.

As for care, the terms *ikuji* for care for the little children, and *kaigo* for care for elderly, are relevant to ordinary households. *Kango* sounds very professional, and would only be relevant in special cases with a very sick patient in the house. The NHK *kodomo no sewa*, is indefinite, covers all aspect of caring for a child at home, and sounds rather personal. Japanese mothers seem to prefer to talk about *kosodate*. One point caused som frustration, resulting in question marks in the grid. Questioning the positive connotations in *ikujisuru* seemed somehow inappropriate.

Finally we discussed the terms housewife and *shufu*. According to Yumi, although women her age have good educations and don't mind planning careers, very many wish to be a *shufu* when they have found the right husband. They are not so often attracted to the stress of combining paid work and homemaking, and the housekeeping/caregiving lifestyle is attractive, not derogatory.

To sum up, whereas there is a distinct imbalance of positive features between work and household tasks in English, the gap in Japanese is not so evident. *Hataraku* is not as positive as work, and *kaji* is not as negative as housework.

7.2 Watching women work

In a dollar store in Berkeley, California, I picked up a sticker, which ran as follows:

THERE ARE **3**
KINDS OF PEOPLE

Those who MAKE things happen.
Those who WATCH what happens.
Those who WONDER what happened.

The three groups are identified by what they do: the first group is active, energetic, probably fun to be with. The second is passive, but present, observing though not taking part. Perhaps a bit boring. The third group is really “out of it”, on the side-line. They didn't catch what was

going on at all, - losers. Obviously there is a semantic difference between *make*, *watch* and *wonder*, but the completely different identity of the three groups of people is obtained by a synergy of linguistic factors. *Make* links up with *happen* to form a causative compound type expression: the force of *make* + *happen* unite in a material expression with an agent subject in the physical world see the figure on page 34, from Halliday, (1994). The second group of people can be syntactically defined as experiencer subject in a clause of mental process in the world of consciousness. *What happens* is a separate clause, and in the world of consciousness this material process is turned to an image, serving as the object to the observer. The third group of people are also defined by a mental process verb, but the object of the mental process is an events of the past.

So we see that through details of syntactic information, our language facilities help us construe quite detailed and perhaps bigoted expectations to the world, if we go along with the premises. The point of my second track has been to see if there are mechanisms of this kind attached to words for women's work. As shown in chapter 3-6 I have found this particularly in relation to two circumstances. There is a relation between point of view, or perspective, and choice of lexical form – nominal or verbal – for the construction of the utterance. The other point is revealed by Levin's verb classes. We tend to have similar attention and expectations to the circumstances that are involved in types or classes of verb. This is important in English, but are we able to trace the same mechanisms in Japanese? Type of verb – compound VN Sino-Japanese nominal verbs as apposed to single Japanese verbs give a few hint.

7.2.1 Connection between part-of-speech and point-of-view.

The first thing I noticed in trying to create a grid for household activities, was how talking about the task shifted the focus, and created a need for verbals to become nominals. The starting point in English, *work*, where the noun and verbs are homonyms, was misleading, and as soon as I moved on to housework, care, cooking, and laundry, I found that there are various ways of constructing nominals from the verb and verbals from the nouns. What became clear was how carefully the expressions were adapted to the message. An observer, researcher or politician who focuses on women's work load or care for family members needs nominal expressions and general categories. The mother running through everything she needs to do to prepare the meal for her family may also be engaged in a mental activity, as she notes that she needs to fry the fish, boil the rice, wash the lettuce. The housewife and the politician have different interests and needs. And they choose words and use words by distinctly different

criteria. And this is where it gets interesting. Because the politician would not bother to talk about housework and cooking if it were not for the central importance of meals and nutrition and the necessity of someone cooking and caring. He needs nouns and nominals for the themes of his comments. The person actually cooking and caring is busy boiling, frying, washing and serving, and needs a whole different register of the lexicon to describe her actions. She needs verbs with a descriptive element. Here we step into the physical world of material processes, and everything she does would be perfectly acceptable as work, or *shigoto*, if someone would only pay her for it. There seems to be little difference between English and Japanese here. The closer to the action, the more detailed the semantic content of the verb, in details of manner, location etc. In English we saw how semantically simple verbs like the *cooking* verbs (according to Levin, 1993), have similar transitivity patterns and easily categorised. We found, however, that many of the tasks of the household were described by phrasal words, like *care for*, *look after* or *do the laundry*. An elevated point of view is likely to choose a nominal construction, with vague or general implications as to what acts are actually covered. The point of view of the doer, the subject agent, will have a verb, inflected form, communicating detail in the activities and often with distinct arguments.

When it comes to relation between nominals and verbals in Japanese, we have an entirely different situation. Many, even most, of the verbs we found to be equivalents for the terms in our grid on page 25 are Sino-Japanese loanwords, compound nominals verbalised by the use of *suru*. In an English language environment, while we are looking for nominals constructed from verbs, Japanese have the nominals at hand, they simply do not add *suru*. Here the question will only arise when you have a simple verb like 洗う *arau*. 皿を洗う *ara o arau* (do the dishes) and 料理を作り *ryôri o tsukuru* (prepare a meal) are subsumed in the time use survey category 炊事 *suiji*, a term women are not likely to select for their own work.

There is little creativity in the *suiji* of the time use surveys, but there is a separate class for *cooking*-verbs (Levin, 1993) and the richness of cooking terms in Shinobu's list certainly testifies the possibility of creative cooking. This is not just a choice of style, but rather of level of description and point of view. We categorize activities and squeeze them into nominals, making them the theme or object of motivation. Some of these nominals can hardly function as verbs.

7.3 Women care

We shape language to meet our needs. At the same time we are apt to make use of the language readily available to us, since we can expect others to understand what we are saying.

Throughout the study I have tried to be sensitive to how the use of terms has changed, how and why new words have come into existence, and how and why established terms disappear. In many ways these questions represent the most fruitful and challenging part of the study, and it might have been tempting to concentrate on these questions alone, in order to carry out a thorough investigation. In summing up there are two angles to the change which deserve attention. One is the interaction between language and culture in development of society as the roles of inhabitants adapt to the requirements. The other is the strategic and conscious use of language, in an effort to influence and motivate groups or to create desirable attitudes and expectations, or to find solutions. Change is of course as necessary as it is unavoidable, but it is important to be able to recognize the changes.

7.4.1 Shifts in meaning

Changing social conditions, changing connotations demand for new terms. It has been interesting to note that while English has supplied a range of alternative expressions for housework, Japanese has been very content with *kaji*. When it comes to care, however, the situation is opposite. In English *care* covers more or less all kinds of support for family members and others, when necessary, and maintenance of things when specified, where you in Japanese use a variety of terms. Do the two cases have anything in common?

In English house, home, household, family and the adjective domestic all have a common semantic core: the place I live with my family, where I belong with my next of kin.

Expressions change as the focus is on the people, the place, the abstract institution of belonging, on the one hand, and the social conditions we live under on the other. The Japanese seem content that 家 *ka*, or *ie*, covers it all, and still has room for a dimension required to accommodate the importance of *ie* in Japanese social history. English speaking society simply do not have an equivalent institution to *ie*.

When it comes to *care* the situation is different. I believe the term has emerged to fill a slot where women's invisible work has left a gap. Care has been strongly established as a word for a psychological state of involvement. How this results in determined action and services is completely undefined, and when the services are carried out by public or private institutions the interpretations relies entirely on social factors. For various reasons the terms we find in

Japanese are not a result of this existing gap. The variations seem to answer the needs of different speakers. Terms vary depending on who the care is directed at, like *ikuji* for child care and *kaigo* for care of elderly, and the perspective of the speaker. As the term *ikuji* reflects language of a scholar or public official, the mother's concern for her child will be *kosodate*. Differences in lexical choice according to speaker comes through much more clear cut in Japanese than it does in English.

A modern society has also created a need for terms where traditional terminology is ill suited. As public institutions for care services have only been necessary when the family has run out of resources, a modern welfare state needs a nomenclature free from connotations of depressing deprivation. These are catered for by borrowings like home services, carer etc. Although these fill a need in the evolution of new sociological structures, the introduction may also be well planned. As Yoshiko stated in her presentation at the UC Berkeley, () politicians now needing to attract women to the labour force are avoiding gender biased terms and planning care for family members of all ages as efforts in this direction.

The most obvious example of strategic language construction has followed the term *ryōsaikenbo*, “good wife, wise mother”, from the initial intention to underline the necessity of education for girls in the 1870s, through the 1920s when it was redefined to restrict the arena of women's activities. In the future it seems more likely that language strategy will be employed by market and media specialists than by politicians, and though power structures alter, consciousness about language will continue to be important.

7.4 Maids or managers

My final ambition has been to track linguistic features that are part of the identity of women who work at home. This is of course not separate from the three former tracks, but a different mode of considering the observations. There are several approaches to this. First, obviously we have the terms described in chapter 6, with *shufu* and *housewife* as central terms. Secondly we have the occupational equivalents described by Fukami (1999) which following the tasks and time measurements of Japanese statistics presents a formula for calculating the worth of unpaid work in the home. Beyond these, let us look at some expressions that might give us a clue to what we have been missing.

Women's appearance in a lot of untraditional work places has been accompanied by a demand for gender neutral terms. The schoolmistress has been replaced by the teacher, while all chiefs, heads, presidents and leaders are conveniently free from problems of terminology. Gender neutral occupational indicators are, however, still laden with habitual expectations. A caretaker is still likely to be a man, a caregiver is still likely to be a woman. But we know that changes in society can reshape these expectations over a few years. The problem is very different for a woman working at home. If her work is not visible, then is she? The very fact that terms and task are attempted de-genderized may have an effect of erasing the valuation of tasks that are – or were - considered feminine. Shari Kendall describes the role of the mother at the dinner table thus:

“..the mother assumes positions associated with 1 the domestic sphere (as Head Chef she directs the preparation and service of food); 2 care giving (as Caregiver she assists her daughter, as Teacher she teaches her dinnertime skills, and as Manager she gets her ready for after-dinner activities); and 3 she acts as “judge of manners” in the position of Civilizer, in which she monitors her daughter's dinnertime etiquette, behavior, and appearance.” (Kendall in Lakoff 2005 p.206)

Is the mother a maid or a manager? Lakoff mused that euphemisms seemed to be needed for housewives. Literature cited in this study also reveals a preference for the term *homemaker* for Japanese 主婦 *shufu*. Time use surveys seem to resort to the term 管理 *kanri*, translated “management”, for several sectors like meal management management of cars or clothes. The responsibility for family budgets and accountancy, for networking and social participation, as chief responsible for family members who depend on others for their quality of life, there seems to be a reluctance of some Japanese women to give up two things that possess. One is a certain dignity which comes with responsibility. The other is a certain freedom to manage their time duties are not pressing. The gap between the positive implications of work and the less positive connotations of housework, seem to be more modest in Japanese. It is not easy to influence language change. It is not easy to promote terms of respect to work which nobody wants to do. Modern housework is primarily interesting to companies who sell products to reduce it. But if it becomes invisible that will affect the people who do it, the same people who do so much of the invaluable care work. For the performer house work and care work may be two terms for the same daily tasks.



Fig 5 Popular definition of *housework*²¹

7.5 Visible work

If there something in the language we use about women's work which makes it difficult to respect the person performing the tasks, it is a reflection of values in society, but also a reflection on a practical level. Performers are concerned with a range of terms on one level of detail, and policy makers and scholars need categories and themes on another. The arena of care work is particularly sensitive since family members should not be described as a burden. Thus dutiful performers contribute to the invisibility of the task. Fortunately, there are scholars who are eager to point this out. The appeal Professor Ueno²² makes to readers is important: "Society must be shocked out of its myth-bound presumptions. We can no longer subscribe to the 'given' that household work is the lowest valued of all labor, that 'anyone' can do it, and that it really should be done for free."

²¹ Copyright Simondrew

²² <http://www.charlest.whipple.net/ueno.html>

A dialogue between planners and performers is urgent. If the interest and the need is there, a lexicon of suitable terms will find its form. Invisible work can becomes visible in the terms of the message when we are conscious about language use.

References

Dictionaries

- CIDE Cambridge International Dictionary, Cambridge University press(1995)
- CoB Cobuild English dictionary, HarperCollins Publisher (1995)
- LLA Longman language activator, Longman Group UK Limited, (1993)
- MED Macmillan English dictionary for advanced learners, Macmillan Publishers Limited (2002)
- OxA Oxford advanced dictionary of current English, Oxford University Press, (1974)
- OxWP Oxford wordpower dictionary, Oxford University press (1993)
- WUD Webster's unabridged 1892 edition
- KKJE Kenkyusha's new Japanese-English Dictionary, Kenkyusha limited, Tokyo (1974, fourth edition)
- KKEJ Kenkyusha's new English-Japanese Dictionary, Kenkyusha limited, Tokyo (1960, new edition)
- NKDJ 日本国語大辞典 第二版 Nippon Kokugo Daijiten (Dainihan, 2001)
- KJS 広辞苑 第二版 Kojishi
- EDICT edict electronic dictionary: <http://www.csse.monash.edu.au/~jwb/j_edict.html>
- JK JapanKnowledge base <<http://www.japanknowledge.com/>> [24 March 2007]
- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| プログレッシブ和英中辞典 | プログレッシブ/JK |
| 日本大百科全書 | 日本大百科全書/JK |
| デジタル大辞泉 | デジタル大辞泉/JK |
| ランダムハウス英和大辞典 | ランダムハウス/JK |
| 情報・知識 imidas | 情報・知識/JK |
| CAMBRIDGE 英英辞典 | CAMBRIDGE/JK |
| COBUILD 英英辞典 | COBUILD/JK |
| ジーニアス英和辞典 | CASIO xd-s6000 |
| ジーニアス英辞和典 | CASIO xd-s6000 |

Literature

Anbäcken, Els-Marie 1997 *Who Cares? Culture, Structure, and Agency in Caring for the Elderly in Japan* Stockholm: East Asian Monographs No.9

Ayto, John 1990 *Bloomsbury Dictionary of Word Origins*. London: Bloomsbury publishing Limited

Fukami, Masahito, 1999 “Monetary Valuation of Unpaid Work in 1996 – Japan “, presented at International seminar on Time Use Studies, Ahmedabad, India December 1999
<<http://www.unescap.org/stat/meet/timeuse/timeuse.asp>>[15 April 2007]

Habein, Y and Mathias, G 1991 *The Complete Guide to Everyday Kanji* Tokyo: Kodansha international

Halliday, M.A.K.1994 *An introduction to Functional Grammar* 2nd edition. London, Edward Arnold,

Hara, Hiroko 1995 “Shufukenkyû no susume” in *Seiyakuwari: Nihon no feminizumu* : 3 Tôkyô

Ide, Sachiko 2004 ”Exploring women’s language in Japanese” in Lakoff, Robin T. 2004 *Language and Woman’s Place* Text and commentaries edited by Mary Bucholtz.Oxford: Oxford University Press

Kendall, Shari. 2004 ”Mother’s place in *Language and Woman’s Place*” Lakoff, Robin T. 2004 *Language and Woman’s Place* Text and commentaries edited by Mary Bucholtz.Oxford: Oxford University Press

Kitterød, Ragni H., 2003 ”Tid til barna? Tidsbruk og samvær med barn blandt mødre med barn i kontantstøttealder” Statistisk sentralburå Statistics Norway, Oslo – Kongsvinger
<http://www.ssb.no/emner/00/02/20/rapp_200305/> [14 April 2007]

Koyama, Shizuko 1991 *Ryôsai kenbo to iu kihan* Tokyo: Keiso

Kuno, Susumu 1973 *The Structure of the Japanese Language* Cambridge, Mass. : MIT Press

Lakoff, Robin T. 2004 *Language and Woman’s Place* Text and commentaries edited by Mary Bucholtz.Oxford: Oxford University Press

Levin, Beth 1991 “ Building a Lexicon: the Contribution of Linguistics” IJL 4(3) 1991, 205

Levin, Beth 1993 *English Verb classes and Alternations*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

Matsumoto, Yoshiko 2004 “The new (and improved?) language and place of women in Japan” in Lakoff, Robin T. 2004 *Language and Woman’s Place* Text and commentaries edited by Mary Bucholtz.Oxford: Oxford University Press

- Mikami, Hitoshi. 1999 "Time use survey in Japan" presented at International seminar on Time Use Studies, Ahmedabad, India December 1999
 <<http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/sconcerns/tuse/Country/Japan/sourcejpn96.pdf>>
 [12 March 2007]
- Miyamoto, Tadao 1999 *The light Verb Construction in Japanese* Amsterdam: John Benjamins
- Nossum, Inger J. 1999 *Stabekk I våre hjerter* Oslo:Yrkeslitteratur as
- Pinker, Steven 2000 *The Language Instinct* New York: Harper Perennial
- Shibatani, Masayoshi 1991 *The Languages of Japan*. Cambridge University Press
- Takeuchi, Lone 1999 *The Structure and History of Japanese: From Yamatokotoba to Nihongo* London: Longman
- Tsujimura, Natsuko 1996 *An Introduction to Japanese Linguistics* Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell
- Tsuya, N.O., Bumpass, L. and Choe, M.K. 2000 "Gender, Employment and Housework in Japan, South Korea and the United States." *Review of Population and social Policy*, No. 9, 195-220
- Ueno, Chizuko. 1994 "Ie no hatsumei" *Kindai kazoku no seiritsu to shuuen* Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten
- Uno, Kathleen S, 1991 "Women and Changes in Household Division of Labor," in Gail Lee Bernstein, ed., *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945* Berkeley: University of California Press
- Vestre, S.K. 1998 "Coping with words. A study of vocabulary acquisition and Norwegian learners of English". *Hovedoppgave*, University of Oslo. Unpublished.
- Whipple, Charles "Chizuko Ueno, sociologist. Interview with the feminist"
 <<http://www.charlest.whipple.net/ueno.html>> [20 April 2007]
- Williams, Raymond 1976 *Keywords : a vocabulary of culture and society* London : Fontana/Croom Helm
- Royal ministry of church, Education and Research, *Core curriculum for primary, secondary and adult education in Norway*, Oslo: Akademika 1994
- Time Use Surveys: NHK 2005 国民生活時間調査年 2005nen kokuminseikatsujikan chôsa
 <http://www.nhk.or.jp/bunken/research/life/life_20060210.pdf> [12 Jan. 2007]
 <<http://www.stats.govt.nz/products-and-services/Articles/timeusesurvey1999.htm>> [12 Jan. 2007]
 <<http://www.stat.go.jp/data/shakai/2006/time/index.htm>> [12 April 2007]
 <<http://www.stat.go.jp/data/shakai/2001/topics/tps0211.htm>> [20 April 2007]

Appendix

Shinobu's list: verbs for daily activities

台所・一

般	洗う	arau	wash
	焼く	yaku	bake,roast,burn
	茹でる	yuderu	boil
	煮る	niru	boil,simmer
	暖める	atatmeru	warm,heat
	沸かす	wakasu	boil
	冷やす	hiyasu	cool,ice
	冷凍する	reitousuru	freeze,refrigerate
	炙る	aburu	broil
	入れる	ireru	put in
	付ける	tukeru	apply,use,put on
	塗る	nuru	spread butter on
	解凍する	kaitousuru	thaw (defrost)
	漬ける	tsukeru	soak,pickle
	流す	nagasu	flush down the drain
	磨く	migaku	polish,rub up
	点ける	tsukeru	turn on,light
	揚げる	ageru	fly
	蒸す	musu	steam
	混ぜる	mazeru	mix,stir
	練る	neru	knead
	篩う	furuu	sift,sieve
	量る	hakaru	measure
	盛り付け る	moritsukeru	dish up,dish out
	磨く	migaku	polish
	拭く	haku	wipe,mop
	掃く	haku	sweep
	片付ける	katazukeru	tidy
	しまう	shimau	put away,put back
	洗濯する	sentakusuru	wash
	干す	hosu	dry
	乾かす	kawakasu	dry
	取り入れ る	toriireru	take in the washing
	たたむ	tatamu	fold
	置く	oku	put,place
	回す	mawasu	turn
	並べる	naraberu	line up,set dishes
	掃除する	soujisuru	clean
	買い物す る	kaimonosuru	do shopping
	増やす	fuyasu	increase
	重ねる	kasaneru	pile up,put on

切る	kiru	cut
開ける	akeru	open
見つける	mitsukeru	find
読む	yomu	read
書く	kaku	write

職場・一
般

コンピューターを使う		use computer
働く	hataraku	work
仕事する	sigoto	work
話す	hanasu	speak
教える	osieru	teach
送る	okuru	send
見せる	miseru	show
呼ぶ	yobu	call
伝える	tsutaeru	tell,convey
引き受ける		
	hikiukeru	undertake
企画する	kikakusuru	plan
取り次ぐ	toritsugu	transfer
かけなおす		
	kakenaosu	call again
売り込む	urikomu	sell
指示する	sijisuru	instruct
尋ねる	tazuneru	ask
実施する	jissi suru	put into effect
集める	atsumeru	recruit,select
残業する	zangyou suru	work overtime
交渉する	koushou suru	negotiate
同意する	doui suru	agree
従う	shitagau	agree
生かす	ikasu	make use of
解決する	kaiketsu suru	solve
検討する	kentou suru	examine,investigate
提案する	teian suru	propose
要求する	youkyuu suru	request
配慮する	hairyo suru	consider
任せる	makaseru	entrust
対応する	taiousuru	cope with
狙う	nerau	aim
運営する	unei suru	manage,operate
用意する	youi suru	prepare
投入する	tounyuu suru	add to product line
	kyouchou	
強調する	suru	emphasize
否定する	hiteisuru	deny
翻訳する	honyaku suru	taranslate
見合わせ	miawaseru	give up,abandon

る		
説得する	settoku suru	persuade
契約する	keiyaku suru	contract
改善する	kaizen suru	improve
	kyouryoku	
協力する	suru	cooperate
拡大する	kakudai suru	expand
勧める	susumeru	recommend
進める	susumeru	move ahead with
勤める	tsutomeru	work for
印刷する	insatsu suru	print
コピーす		
る	kopii suru	copy
うけとる	uketoru	receive
稼ぐ	kasegu	earn
記録する	kiroku suru	record
参加する	sanka suru	participate
支持する	sijisuru	support
修正する	shuusei suru	amend
集金する	shuukin suru	collect money
出荷する	shukka suru	forward,ship
処理する	shori suru	manage,conduct
提供する	teikyou suru	offer
適用する	tekiyou suru	apply
納入する	nounyuu suru	to pay,to deliver
発表する	happyou suru	announce,make public
復習する	fukushuu suru	review
		to pay into another's bank
振り込む	furikomu	account
分類する	bunrui suru	classify
分担する	buntan suru	bear one's share of
分配する	bunpai suru	divide
変換する	henkan suru	change,convert
保証する	hoshou suru	guarantee
まとめる	matomeru	settle,conclude